

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-15-92 BY 9803RDD/CAL  
334,999

100-391697-1, 2, 3, 4, <sup>11-22-52</sup>✓ 5, 6, 7, 8, 9  
**CHANGED TO** 10, 11,

100-418797-3, 4, 5, 6, ✓ 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,  
12, 14,

NOV 3 - 1955

*a*

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

March 11, 1953

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

SAC Boardman, New York, called and stated that former SAC Scheidt was in his office and wondered whether it would be too much trouble for him, Scheidt, to call you regarding a matter which had just come up. Scheidt indicated to Boardman that he wanted to talk to you about the Ford Foundation and their fifteen million dollar project to investigate Communism, et cetera. Apparently Scheidt has been offered a position in connection with this matter and wanted to get your advice.

I told Mr. Boardman that he should tell Mr. Scheidt that I knew you would be very glad to talk to Mr. Scheidt if he wanted to call you.

Apparently Mr. Scheidt will call you shortly concerning this matter by phone.

FCH:eff

*I talked to him*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1-15-92 BY 9203RDD/cac

mail designated  
by RS Garner  
Change To  
100-418797  
C. J. Fox, Liaison  
C. J. MK-11/4/53

67 MAR 27 1953

RECORDED - 23

SE

100-391697-12

30 MAR 12 1953

PERS. FILES

*See file*

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Mr. Gearty ✓  
Mr. Jones ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Mr. Sizoo ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-15-92 BY 9803RDD/CAL

100-391697-13  
**CHANGED TO**  
100-418797-13

NOV 3 - 1955

---

---

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten mark]*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: March 20, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FORD FOUNDATION

1-15-92 9803RDD/CL

Tolson  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Harbo  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Gearty  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
 Sizoo  
Gandy

By reference of the Director's office, I talked to Paul Hoffman. Hoffman stated that he was hoping to see the Director this afternoon. I told him the Director was presently out of the office in a round of conferences; that I knew the subject matter and one thing would lead to another; that while I thought we would hear from him I just did not know what the situation would be and had my doubts whether we would see him back here today.

Hoffman stated he had talked to the Attorney General and originally the Attorney General thought that Hoffman could come in and see the Attorney General and the Director right after lunch. He pointed out he was most anxious to see the Director and thought that 15 minutes would suffice. He stated that the Ford Foundation has granted the \$15,000,000 for the Fund For The Republic, which is now in the process of organizing; that they are undertaking first to measure the extent of the menace of Communism and then they intend to see what can be done about protecting the sources and bases of our free society.

Hoffman pointed out that his friend, Don Jackson, was far from the truth in his speech on the floor; that there was no intent to in any way stop investigations or curtail actions taken against Communism; that what they want to do is "reidentify the deep sources of strength for our free society"; that they want to be certain that we maintain the right to dissent but draw a line of demarkation between dissension and disloyalty. He was most anxious to have the Director's views as early as possible, although he, of course, understands the Director cannot endorse or sponsor any such program as his.

Hoffman is having lunch with Vice President Nixon at noon and said he would be free between 2:30 and 4:30 p.m. At 4:30, he has an appointment with Secretary Humphrey. He is most anxious to see the Director as he is spending Sunday afternoon with the President, who is very deeply interested in the program of the Ford Foundation.

cc: Mr. Holloman  
cc: Mr. Ladd

LBN:hmc

MAR 26 1953

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
100 APR 3 1953

ORIGINAL FILED IN 122

PERS. FILED



Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

March 20, 1953

In line with my conversation with the Director, I called Hoffman back and told him the Director would be glad to see him at 3:30.

In this connection, former Special Agent Ed Kennelly told me last night he had seen Ed Scheidt over the week end; that Scheidt was anxious to get a job with the Ford Foundation and had talked to the Director; that the Director had conveyed to Scheidt that he was not opposed nor did he discourage Scheidt and indicated that he might talk to Henry Ford, II.

Belthek m mclinton

to be along

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE: March 25, 1953

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: RICHARD JAMES FINNEGAN

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Pursuant to the Director's request, for information on the captioned individual, noted on Mr. Nichols' memorandum to the Director dated March 20, 1953, entitled "Ford Foundation, Fund for the Republic," references in our files to the captioned individual were reviewed. Finnegan has not been investigated by the Bureau.

Finnegan was born September 5, 1884, at Chicago, Illinois, received a law degree from the Chicago Law School in 1907 and has been associated with various Chicago newspapers as a reporter and editor since 1901. On October 1, 1950, Finnegan became consulting editor and was succeeded by Marshall Field, Jr., who became editor and publisher of the "Sun-Times," Chicago. (Who's Who, 1952-53; 94-8-325-74)

As editor of the "Chicago Times," Finnegan was the addressee of four complimentary letters from the Bureau for comments in editorials favorable to the Director and the Bureau between May 12, 1936, and November 10, 1939. A similarly cordial letter was addressed to him as editor of the merged "Sun-Times" on July 20, 1950. (64-43365-12; 94-8-1-197-1, 6, 12)

In March, 1940, Finnegan, on behalf of the "Times" publisher, accepted the award of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, which has not been cited, for meritorious service in civil liberties during 1939. Finnegan, it is noted, was listed as receiving the "Daily Worker," east coast Communist newspaper, in September, 1943. The source did not reflect whether this was a complimentary or paid-for listing. (100-6605-4 page 6; 61-4478-293, page 29)

May,  
 A telephone call was made prior to 1950, to the telephone listed to Finnegan from the residence of Joseph Fels Barnes, an Internal Security - R subject. (77-13677-84)

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

cc: Mr. Nichols

100-391697

cc: 62-62713

HFD:ndt

53 APR 9 1953

RECORDED - 16

100-391697-14

INT. SEC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-62713

THE DIRECTOR

March 25, 1953

D. M. LADD

DR. CHARLES W. COLE  
BOARD OF DIRECTORS,  
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

1-15-92

9803RDD/CAL

SYNOPSIS:

Memorandum prepared pursuant to your request for information on members of the Board of Directors, Fund for the Republic established by the Ford Foundation. No investigation conducted of Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College. He was born February 8, 1906; received A.B. degree from Amherst, 1927; A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University, 1928 and 1931, respectively. He has taught at Columbia University, Yale University and Amherst College where he became President in 1946. Cole worked with the Office of Price Administration in 1942-43. He is author of books on European history and economics. Files revealed Dr. Cole has been officially contacted for information on subjects of Bureau investigations. In 1946, during a Security investigation of Professor Colston Estey Warne, Cole stated the loyalty of Warne was unquestionable. Investigation revealed Warne is associated with Communist-front groups and identified by Budenz as a Communist. In 1947 and 1949 letters were addressed to Dr. Cole clearly pointing out the FBI did not have undercover operatives investigating Communism in New England colleges as one report had alleged, nor had you ever made the statement that Communism was rife at Amherst College as one alumnus of that school reported. The "Washington Evening Star" dated May 29, 1949, reported Herbert Hoover named Cole to a twelve-member working committee to develop plans for streamlining the national defense program. In July, 1948, Winston R. Tate, National President of Phi Kappa Psi, stated Cole was one of the Amherst officials responsible for removing restrictions on membership rules from the charter, resulting in the fraternity pledging a Negro student at Amherst. The Washington Daily News Service on December 12, 1952, announced Cole's appointment to the Fund for the Republic.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Gearty \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 - Mr. Nichols

SHR: fjb

53 APR 16 1953

100-371677-  
NOT RECORDED  
46 APR 14 1953

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 62-79292

Memo to the Director  
from D. M. Ladd

RE: DR. CHARLES W. COLE

DETAILS:

By memorandum dated March 20, 1953, Mr. Nichols furnished the names of individuals on the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, an independent agency established by the Ford Foundation. One of these persons on whom you requested a summary of information was Dr. Charles W. Cole.

No investigation has been conducted on the captioned individual who is President of Amherst College. He was born on February 8, 1906; received his A.B. degree from Amherst College in 1927; and, received his A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University in 1928 and 1931, respectively. He has been associated with the following universities: Columbia University, 1929-35; Associate Professor of Economics, Amherst College, 1935-37; visiting lecturer in economics, Yale University, 1938-39; professor of history, Columbia University, 1940-46; and President of Amherst College since 1946. Cole worked with the Office of Price Administration in 1942-43. He has written the following books: "French Mercantilist Doctrines Before Colbert," 1931; "Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism," two volumes, 1939; "French Mercantilism, 1683-1700," 1943; and "History of Europe" (with C. J. H. Hayes and M. Baldwin). ("Who's Who in America," 1952-53)

A review of the files revealed that Dr. Charles W. Cole has been officially contacted for information on subjects of Bureau investigations. In August, 1946, during a Security investigation of Professor Colston Estey Warne, Dr. Cole was interviewed and stated that he had been a long-time friend and associate of Warne, having taught in the same department, and that Warne's loyalty to the United States Government was beyond question. The investigation of Warne did not all together bear out the opinion of Dr. Cole since it was reported that Warne is a member of Communist-front groups, and was identified by Louis Budenz as a Communist. (100-3645-4,5,8)

On December 20, 1947, the Bureau addressed letters to Dr. Charles W. Cole and thirty-four other New England college officials reported to have attended a conference on October 7 and 8, at which a report was made of an alleged "confession" by a student at Wesleyan University to the effect that he was acting as an undercover operative of the FBI. The letter to Dr. Cole pointed out that the report had no basis in fact since this student

Memo to the Director  
from D. M. Ladd

RE: CHARLES W. COLE

had denied he was requested to secure information for the FBI, and also clearly pointed out the policy of the FBI was to go directly to college officials for information needed on the campus. (62-85343-18)

"The Evening Star" dated March 23, 1948, stated that the day before Herbert Hoover named a twelve-member working committee to develop plans for streamlining the national defense program. This committee, composed of civilians who served in the Government during the war, included Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College. (62-85205-A)

In July, 1948, Mr. Winston R. Tate, a Vice-President of the Plaza Bank of Commerce in Kansas City, Missouri, stated that he was the National President of the Phi Kappa Psi, a national social fraternity. He said it had come to his attention over the past year that considerable pressure had been put on fraternities to force them to remove any restrictive membership rules from their charters. Without specific information, Mr. Tate stated he suspected this was the result of Communist-supported influence. Mr. Tate stated as far as his own fraternity was concerned the problem had become most acute at Amherst College. The local chapter there had recently pledged a Negro student to the fraternity. This action came about because the school had promulgated a rule that no fraternity could exist on the campus which exercised restrictive clauses. Tate advised that Charles Woolsey Cole, President of Amherst, was one of the officials responsible for the policy. (100-856632-1)

On January 10, 1949, you addressed a letter to Dr. Cole enclosing a copy of a communication to Mr. Lewis E. Kimball of Los Angeles who had previously written you concerning an alleged statement made to him by "a friend who was a close friend of J. Edgar Hoover" to the effect that Communism was so rife at Amherst College that the FBI had put a man at the college and had found the Dean of Men was a member of the Communist Party. Both of the above-mentioned letters pointed out that you had never made the statement, and further, that you immediately ordered an investigation to ascertain the source of the statement. This investigation revealed the source of information had no recollection of attributing such a statement to you. It was further pointed out to Dr. Cole that Dean G. Scott Porter had been exceedingly helpful in connection with official investigations, and you deplored the injustices of spreading such untrue and vicious rumors concerning him.

Memo to the Director  
from D. M. Ladd

RE: DR. CHARLES W. COLE

On January 13, 1949, Dr. Cole replied by thanking you for your letter and said that he was confident there was no basis in fact for the rumors about Communists at Amherst College, but he was glad you were able so categorically to relieve the mind of Mr. Kimball, an alumnus of the college. (100-147944-2,3,4)

According to the Washington Daily News Service dated December 12, 1952, the Ford Foundation had announced the creation of an independent group to outline a program for the "elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, influence and expression in the United States." Paul G. Hoffman said the new group was to be known as the Fund for the Republic, which would be awarded a substantial grant to carry on its work over a period of years if it came up with a satisfactory program. He also stated this group would be composed of distinguished men and women. Dr. Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College, was one of these individuals. (100-391697-A)



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-319697)

DATE: April 7, 1953

FROM : SAC, New York (100-112646)

SUBJECT: FORD FOUNDATION  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ReBulet, 3/4/53.

The "New York Times" dated 2/26/53 contains an article regarding the Ford Foundation's appropriation of \$15,000,000 for the newly organized Fund for the Republic.

The pertinent parts of this article are herein set forth:

The Ford Foundation on 2/25/53 announced the grant of \$15,000,000 for the newly organized Fund for the Republic and said one of its first activities will be a study of civil liberties.

The fund's directors stated that the inquiry would concentrate on five subjects, as hereinafter set forth.

The directors of the new fund have stated they considered the major factors affecting liberties to be Communism and Communist influence, but coupled with it the "grave danger to civil liberties in methods that may be used to meet the threat". The directors promised to undertake research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace, and to seek "a realistic understanding of effective procedures for dealing with it".

The directors' statement follows:

"The trustees of the Ford Foundation in Pasadena this week appropriated \$15,000,000 to the Fund for the Republic, an independent corporation established by the Foundation last year to support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights."

"PAUL G. HOFFMAN, retiring President of the Ford Foundation, has been elected Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fund.

"BETHUEL M. WEBSTER, President of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, has been selected as Counsel to the Fund. The president of the new organization has not yet been named."

"Since the announcement of the establishment of the fund in the fall of 1952, a planning committee of the directors,

APH:AMM/ASR

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN //

78 MAY 5 - 1953

INDEXED 150

100-391697-15

APR 8 1953

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

"under the informal chairmanship of ERWIN N. GRISWOLD, Dean of the Harvard Law School, has been at work on the task of suggesting policies, areas for action and methods that might be employed in the operation of the fund.

"We regard the sphere of operation of the fund as including the entire field of freedom and civil rights in the United States and take as our basic charter the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

"One of the first activities to be undertaken by the fund is a thorough study into the many difficult concepts and problems which are encountered in the field of civil liberties. We see a pressing need for a clear statement in contemporary terms of the legacy of American liberty. We propose to help restore respectability to individual freedom.

"The major factor affecting civil liberties today in our opinion, is the menace of Communism and Communist influence in this country. Coupled with this threat is the grave danger to civil liberties in methods that may be used to meet the threat. We propose to undertake research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace and its effect on our community and institutions. We hope to arrive at a realistic understanding of effective procedures for dealing with it.

"Out of our discussions has come a preliminary conclusion that the attention of the fund should at this time be concentrated in the following five areas, not necessarily in order of priority:

- "1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom.
- "2. Due process and equal protection of the laws.
- "3. The protection of the rights of minorities.
- "4. Censorship, boycotting and blacklisting activities by private groups.
- "5. Principles of guilt by association and its application in the United States today."



Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

The fund has offices at 655 Madison Avenue, New York City. When it was set up by the Foundation last year, Mr. HOFFMAN, according to the "New York Times" article explained that the fund had been organized as a separate group because officials of the Foundation believed "the many controversial problems in this area can best be acted on by an organization that has complete independence."

According to a Dun & Bradstreet report dated 3/14/52, the Ford Foundation, Incorporated, is a corporation chartered under the Michigan laws as a non-profit organization. Its officers were listed as follows:

PAUL G. HOFFMAN, President and Director  
H. ROWAN GAITHER, JR., Assistant Director  
MILTON KATZ, Assistant Director  
S. L. GLADIEUX, Assistant Treasurer  
CHESTER C. DAVIS, Assistant Director  
ROBERT C. M. HUTCHAN, Assistant Director  
OLIVER MAY, Secretary to President  
JOSEPH MCDANIEL, JR., Assistant to Director.

The trustees of the Ford Foundation were listed as follows:

✓ HENRY FORD, II, Chairman  
JOHN COLE  
BENSON FORD  
JAMES B. WEBER, JR.  
DALAND I. DAVID  
PAUL G. HOFFMAN  
CHARLES E. WILSON.

The Dun & Bradstreet report stated that the Ford Foundation is an organization operating in five fields of endeavor. The Foundation attempts to bring about world peace and international understanding, to strengthen democratic institutions, to study economic relations and practices, extend formal and adult education, and to study human behavior. The Foundation sponsors the following groups as part of these activities:

The East European Fund  
The Fund for Adult Education  
Perspectives, USA  
The Television-Radio Work Shop  
People Act.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

The Ford Foundation occupies office space on the sixth and eighth floors of a multi-story modern office building at 655 Madison Avenue, New York City.

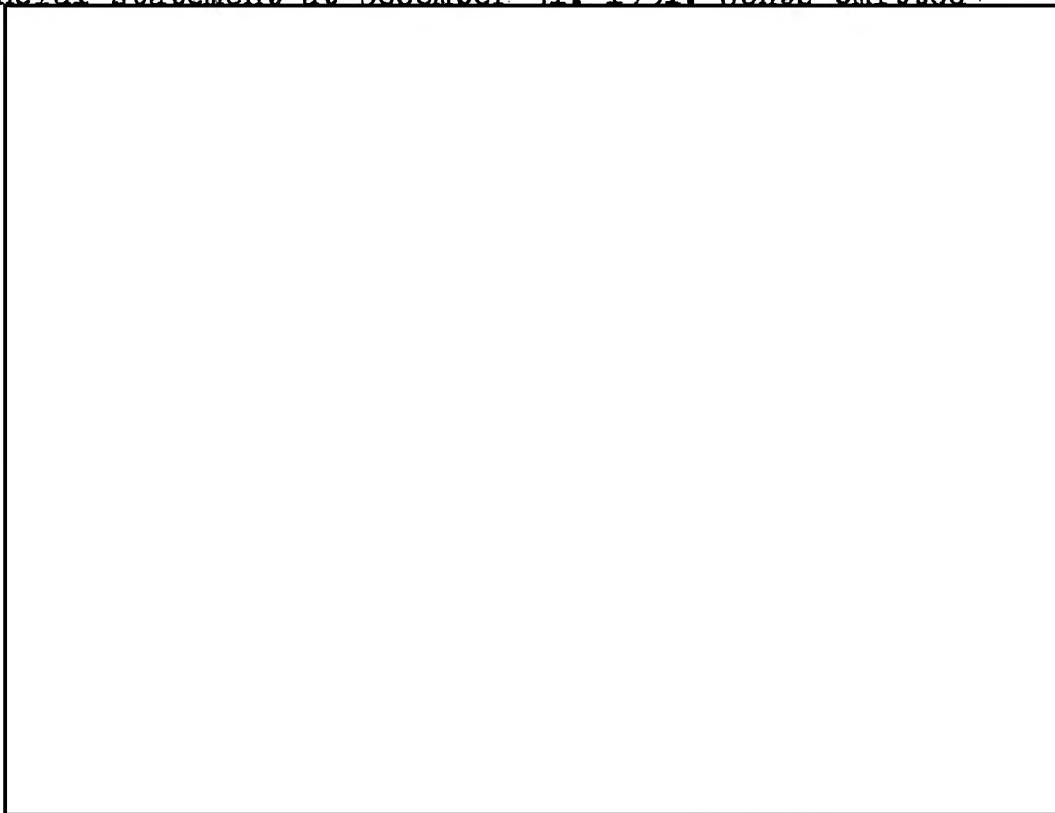
The Foundation also maintains offices at 914 East Green Street, Pasadena, California and in the Buhl Building, Detroit, Michigan.

The following is a financial statement of the Ford Foundation dated 11/7/52 as made available by Dun & Bradstreet:

FORD FOUNDATION, INC.

NEW YORK CITY 22, NY  
655 MADISON AVENUE

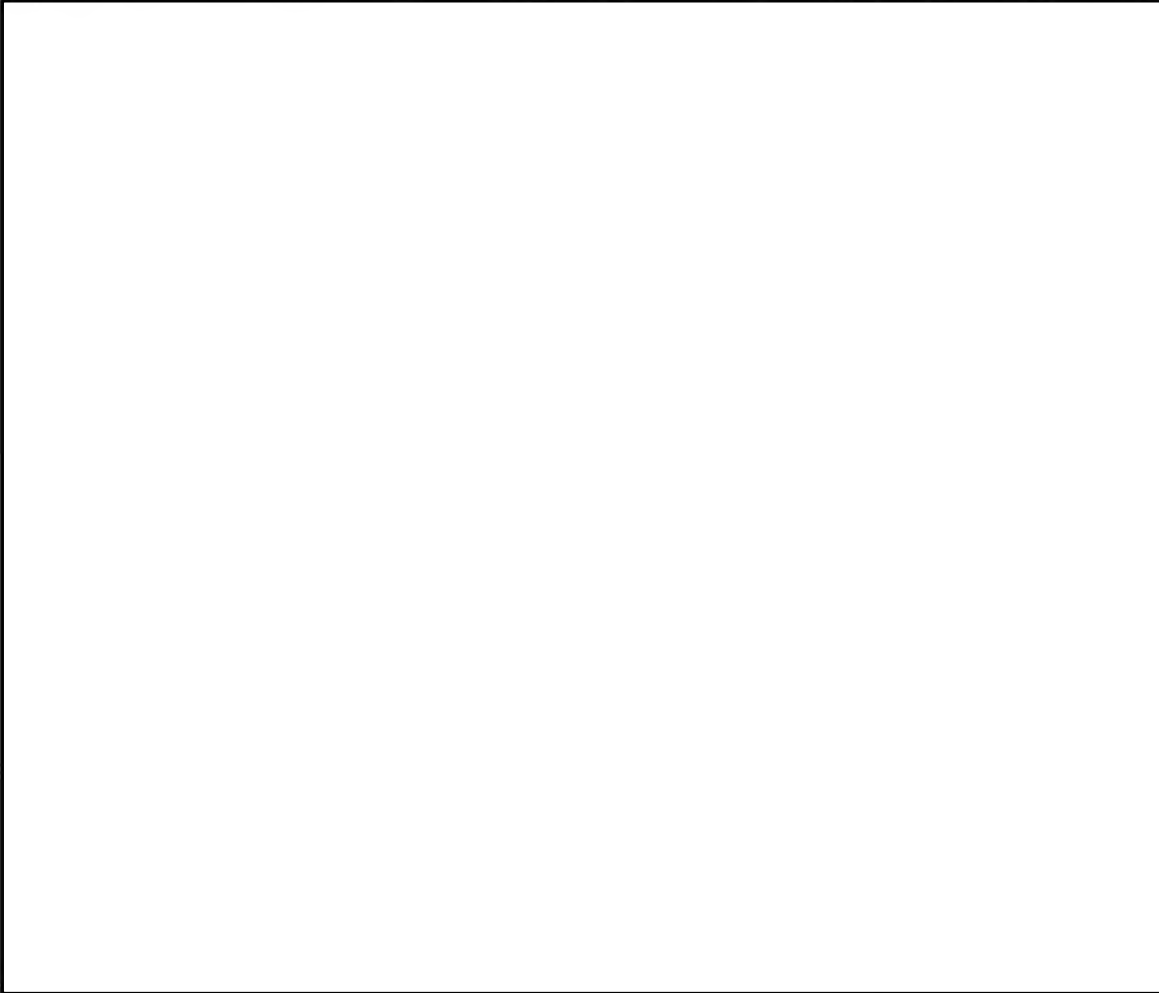
Financial statement at December 31, 1951: Cents omitted.



b7D

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

Statement of Income, Grants and Expenditures for Year ended  
December 31, 1951



b7D

DIRECTORS OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The "New York Times" article, previously referred to in this letter, lists the Directors of the Fund for the Republic. Pertinent facts regarding these personalities is being herein set forth for the Bureau's information.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

PAUL G. HOFFMAN  
Chairman of the Board of Directors  
of the Fund for the Republic

"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953 sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr. HOFFMAN:

*Calif.*  
*N.H.*  
*Wash.*  
*DC.*  
*MA.*  
*MA.*  
*MA.*

Born, Chicago, Illinois, 4/26/1891; student, University of Chicago, 1908-09; honorary LL.D. Rose Poly Institute (Indiana), University of Rochester (New York), Valparaiso (Indiana) U., Dartmouth College, Grinnell College (Iowa), Kenyon College (Gambier, Ohio), Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, American University, Bucknell University, Columbia University, Harvard, Indiana University, Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Syracuse University, University of California (Los Angeles), University of Notre Dame, University of Pennsylvania, University of Rochester, Washington University, Wesleyan University (Connecticut), Williams College (Massachusetts), Yale; D.C.S., (Hon.), NYU 1950; Hon Dr. Business Administration, University of Southern California; D.S.C. (Hon) Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Dr. Humanities (Hon) Hillsdale (Michigan) College; married DOROTHY BROWN, 12/18/15; children, HALLOCK BROWN; PETER BROWN; DONALD GRAY; ROBERT CHESEBORO; LATHROP GRAY; BARBARA; KIRIKI. HOFFMAN began as an automobile salesman for the Studebaker Corporation in 1911 in Los Angeles, Sales Manager for the Los Angeles Branch 1915, District Branch Manager 1917, Vice President of Studebaker from 1925 to 1933, President of Studebaker from 1935 to 1948; named Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration by former President TRUMAN, April, 1948; resigned E.C.A. to become President, Ford Foundation. Chairman of the Board of Trustees for the Committee for Economic Development from 1942 to 1948; Chairman, Automotive Safety Foundation from 1942 to 1948; Director, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago; Director, New York Life Insurance Company; Director, United Airlines, Inc.; Director, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.; and Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc.; Director, Chicago Corporation; Director and Vice President, Automobile Manufacturers Association; member of the Business Advisory Council, Department of Commerce; Honorary Chairman, United China Relief. Served as First Lieutenant F.A., United States Army, 1917-1919. Recipient American Education Award, 1948. Member, Visiting Committee Department of Government, Harvard. Councillor, National Industrial

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

Conference Board. Trustee of the University of Chicago and Kenyon College. Member of Delta Tau Delta (President 1940, 1941, 1942). Republican. Mason. Clubs: University, Country, California (Los Angeles); Chicago, the Tavern (Chicago); South Bend (Indiana) Country. Author "Seven Roads to Safety", 1939. HOFFMAN resides at 1500 El Mirador Drive, Pasadena, California.

Confidential Informant Boston 603, of known reliability, in March and April of 1950, furnished to Bureau agents miscellaneous documents and correspondence of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

One such document was a four-page booklet entitled, "The Officers and Trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations Invite You to Become a Member of its American Council". This document reflected that PAUL G. HOFFMAN was a member of the Board of Trustees of the American Council of the IPR and that EDWARD C. CARTER was Executive Vice Chairman of the IPR.

Mr. LOUIS BUDENZ, a former editor of the "Daily Worker", advised the IPR was originally non-Communist, but the Communists had infiltrated it. According to Mr. BUDENZ, the CP had great influence within the IPR and at times controlled its policy.

Confidential Informant Boston 603 also furnished a photostat of a document dated 7/2/43 written by EDWARD C. CARTER, IPR official.

This document reflected that in connection with the IPR Million Dollar Fund, CARTER had requested the Studebaker Corporation to donate \$7,000. CARTER stated PAUL HOFFMAN had made written response to this appeal.

This same informant also furnished a photostat of an IPR memo dated in April of 1943 which reflected that PAUL G. HOFFMAN was one of a group of persons who was "contributing to the work of the IPR".

This informant also furnished a photostat of an IPR memo dated 4/13/43 entitled "IPR War and Peace Fund" which reflected

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

that PAUL G. HOFFMAN was one of a group of persons whose names were suggested as prospective members of an IPR Campaign Committee.

This informant, mentioned above, also furnished a photostatic copy of the Minutes of a meeting of the American Council of the IPR held on 4/1/43 at the Hotel Parkside, New York City. These Minutes reflect that Mr. PAUL G. HOFFMAN, then President of the Studebaker Corporation, had been elected a trustee of the IPR at a previous meeting of the Board.

On 4/17,18,25/50, Mr. CLAYTON LANE, Executive Secretary of the American Council of the IPR, New York City, was interviewed by Bureau agents. LANE stated PAUL G. HOFFMAN was a member of the Board of Trustees of the IPR in 1943, 1944, 1945 and 1946.

The ONI advised on 10/24/42 that PAUL G. HOFFMAN had been elected as Chairman of the United China Relief.

On 6/19/47 the ONI advised that three prominent persons, names not furnished, but who were familiar with the internal affairs of United Services of China, Inc., formerly known as United China Relief, had stated that Communists had infiltrated that organization.

According to the "New York Times", previously referred to in this letter, Mr. HOFFMAN resigned on 2/4/53 as President of the Ford Foundation and as trustee for the purpose of returning to the Studebaker Corporation as Chairman of its Board of Directors effective 3/1/53.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

*MA'S*  
*N.Y.*  
BETHUEL M. WEBSTER *Jr.*

*Bethuel Matthew Webster Jr.*  
Counsel to the Fund for the Republic, *Bethuel Webster Jr.*  
President of the Association of the  
Bar of the City of New York

Mr. WEBSTER is a senior partner with the law firm of Webster, Sheffield and Horan, 15 Broad Street, NYC. This law firm is recognized as one of the leading law offices doing business in the Wall Street area.

The 1951 Martindale Hubbell Lawyers Directory gives the following information concerning Mr. WEBSTER:

*MA'S*  
*N.Y.*  
Born 6/13/00; A.B. degree, University of Colorado, 1922; LL.B. degree Harvard Law School, 1925; admitted to NY Bar 1927; was given a "very high" legal rating and recommendation; was AUSA, SDNY in 1926 and 1927; was Special Assistant to Attorney General of the U. S. (Antitrust) from 1927 to 1929; was General Counsel for the Federal Radio Commission in 1929; was advisor to the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany from 1949 to 1951.

A review of the files of the NYO reveal that a BETHUEL M. WEBSTER, JR., of NY, was a former attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, Radio Commission. The files of the NYO also indicate that a Loyalty of Government Employees investigation was conducted concerning Mr. WEBSTER and during this investigation, it was stated that he was known as BETHUEL MATTHEW WEBSTER, JR., prior to June, 1936. The basis for the investigation of WEBSTER under the LGE Program was a House Committee on Un-American Activities report on one BETHUEL M. WEBSTER, who signed a letter of transmittal for a report entitled, "The Status of Working Conditions of Seamen in The American Merchant Marine", which was prepared by the International Juridical Association at the request of the International Labor Defense.(ILD).

The ILD has been cited by the Attorney General as an organization coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Information concerning the LGE investigation of Mr. WEBSTER is contained in Bufile 121-20897.



Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

This investigation indicated that the neighbors and associates of Mr. WEBSTER advised that they consider him to be a loyal American.

The election records reflect that Mr. WEBSTER and his wife registered for one of the two major political parties from 1933 to 1948. Mr. WEBSTER and his wife are unknown to NY confidential informants, and there is no record of Mr. WEBSTER at the BSSI or the NYCPD.

The files of the New York Office also reflect that BETHUEL M. WEBSTER was the lawyer for WILLIAM REMINGTON, convicted perjurer, at the inception of court proceedings in the REMINGTON perjury trial, but he subsequently withdrew before the trial was under way.

Information in the New York Office files also indicate that one BETHUEL or BETHUS WEBSTER was considered by NATHAN GREEN and CORLISS LAMONT as a special counsel to represent the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The same information indicated that GREEN and LAMONT considered WEBSTER too quiet and having too much decorum to be fitted for such an assignment.

According to the above LGE investigation, in 1950, BETHUEL WEBSTER resided at 520 East 86 Street, New York City.

It is to be noted that BETHUEL WEBSTER has been contacted by SAS of the New York Office in connection with the investigation of "EMILE LABIN; IS - R", Bufile 40-19372.

LABIN, an employee of the Federal Telecommunications Laboratory (FTL), Nutley, New Jersey, was suspended from his position by the Army, Navy, Air Force Personnel Security Board in 1952.

It is to be noted that the FTL is engaged on contracts of a "secret" nature for the armed forces.

Mr. WEBSTER, according to the New York file, advised EMILE LABIN concerning his legal rights and as to the course of legal action, which was available to him in presenting his appeal to the Army, Navy, Air Force Personnel Security Board.



Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

LABIN was interviewed at the New York Office on 2/24/52 concerning alleged CP sympathy, and he denied being a CP member.

During contacts with Mr. WEBSTER by agents of the New York Office concerning the investigation of LABIN, he (WEBSTER), was cooperative and indicated his desire to aid the Bureau in any way that he could.

The "New York Times", dated 5/14/52, reported that at a meeting at 42 West 44 Street, New York City, the New York City Bar Association chose BETHUEL M. WEBSTER as its new President.

*MW* JAMES F. BROWNLEE  
Partner, J. H. Whitney & Co.  
New York

*Ky*  
*QOM* "Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953, sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr. BROWNLEE:  
~~BROWNLEE~~  
James F. Brownlee, born Oakland, California, 7/29/91; received B.S. degree from Harvard University, 1913; married EVELINE MORLEY, 3/10/17; began as a salesman with American Sugar Refinery Company in 1913; was appointed sales manager and served in such capacity from 1925 to 1928; was Vice President of General Foods Corporation from 1932-1935; was President of Jefferson Oakland Salt Company from 1936 to 1938; was President of Frankfort Distilleries, Incorporated, from 1935 to 1943; member, Business Advisory Council, Washington, D. C., 1937, 1939; War Production Board, 1942; Director, Transportation War Food Administration, 1943; Deputy Administrator, OPA, 1943-1945; Deputy Director, Office of Economic Stabilization, 1946; partner, J. H. Whitney & Company; Director, Pillsbury Mills, Incorporated, R. H. Macy & Company, Bank of Manhattan, Gillette Safety Razor Company, American Express Company. Trustee, Middlesex School and member Policy Committee C.E.D. University of NY. Served as 2nd Lieutenant, U. S. Army, World War I. Clubs: Augusta National, Harvard (New York), River Valley (Louisville), Blind Brook Golf and Country, Fairfield County. Home: Greenfield Hill, Fairfield, Connecticut.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

"Who's Who in New York", 1952, twelfth edition, contains basically the same information as set forth under "Who's Who in America", with the addition of the following information:

Director of Minute Maid Corporation; Vice Chairman, National Citizens Committee for the Public Schools; business address, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Poor's Register of Directors and Executives, 1952, shows business affiliations as set forth under, "Who's Who in America", and "Who's Who in New York", and in addition, lists Mr. BROWNLEE'S present address as Long Meadow Road, Fairfield, Connecticut.

~~NY 100-112646~~ HUNTINGTON CAIRNS  
Lawyer  
Washington, D. C.

"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953, sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr. CAIRNS:

Lawyer, author; born Baltimore, 9/1/04; graduated Baltimore City College, 1942; LL.B., University of Maryland, 1925; married FLORENCE F. BUTLER, 5/29/30; admitted to Maryland Bar, 1926; D. C. Bar, 1943; associated with Piper, Carey and Hall, 1926-1937; partner, 1933-1937; Special Legal Advisor, U. S. Treasury Department, 1934-1937, since 1943; lecturer taxation, Law School, University of Maryland, 1935-1937; Chairman, radio program, "Invitation to Learning", 1940-1941. Assistant General Counsel, U. S. Treasury, 1937-1943; member, Committee on Practice, Treasury Department, since 1944. Secretary and member of the American Committee for Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historical Monuments, war areas, 1943-1946. Secretary, Treasurer and General Counsel, National Gallery of Art, since 1943; JAMES SCHOULER, lecturer in Political Science, Johns Hopkins, 1945; lecturer in Criticism since 1949. Awarded first prize, law school, University of Maryland, for entry on Law of Charitable Trusts in Maryland, 1925; awarded Civic Medallion for most significant contribution to progress of Baltimore during 1935 in the field of professions and science. Member of Maryland Tax Revision Commission, 1938-1939. Member, American D. C. Maryland State Bar

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

Associations; American Law Institute; American Philosophy Association, American Society for Aesthetics. Clubs: Hamilton Street, Maryland, Cosmos, Wranglers. Author: Law and the Social Sciences, 1935; the Theory of Legal Science, 1941; Invitation to Learning (with ALLEN TATE and MARK VAN DOREN), 1941; Master Pieces of Painting from the National Gallery of Art (with JOHN WALKER), 1944; The Limits of Art, 1948; Legal Philosophy from Plato to Hegel, 1949. Editor: Malinowski, a Scientific Theory of Culture, 1944; also of Saintsbury, French Literature and its Masters, 1945; Tax Laws of Maryland (published biennially); Lectures in Criticism, 1949. Contributor to magazines and to various symposia, also to Dictionary of American Biography. Home: 2219 California Street, NW, Washington, D. C. Office: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

*MASS. NY. COLL. A.*  
CHARLES WOOLSLEY COLE  
President, Amherst College

"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953,  
sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr.  
COLE:

Born Montclair, New Jersey, 2/8/06; A.B. degree, Amherst College, 1927; L.H.D., 1942; A.M., Columbia University, 1928; Ph.D., 1931; LL.D., Wagner College, 1946; Wesleyan University, 1946; Williams College, 1946; Litt.D., Hamilton College, 1948; Sc.D., Clarkson College, 1948. Married KATHERINE BUSH SALMON, 8/29/38. Children: ELIZABETH, DWIGHT, KATHARINE WOOLSEY. Instructor, History, Columbia University, 1929-1935; traveling fellow, Social Science Research Council (Paris), 1932-1933; Associate Professor, Economics, Amherst College, 1935-1937; GEORGE D. OLDS, Professor of Economics, 1937-1940; visiting lecturer, Economics, Yale University, 1938-1939; Professor, History, Columbia University, 1940-1946; President, Amherst College since 1946. Chief, Service Trades Branch, Retail Trade and Services Division, Office Price Administration, 1942; Regional Price Executive, NY Regional Office of Price Administration, 1942-1943; member teaching staff, Navy School of Military Government and Administration, Columbia University, 1943-1944; lecturer, Army School of Military Government, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1943-1944; member

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

of the Faculty, Manhattan School of Music, 1944-1945; member of the national security organization committee of the Commission on organization of Executive Branch of Government, 1948; Selective Service Scientific Advisory Commission since 1948; member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Numismatic Society, American Economic Association, Economic Historical Association, American Association University Professors, American Historical Association, (Council 1947-1950), Council on Foreign Relations, Phi Beta Kappa, Delta Kappa Epsilon, Delta Sigma Rho. Congregationalist. Club: Century. Author: French Mercantilist Doctrines Before Colbert, 1931; Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism, 2 volumes, 1939; Economic History of Europe (with S. B. CLOUGH), 1941; French Mercantilism, 1683 through 1700, 1943; History of Europe (with C. J. H. HAYES and M. BALDWIN), 1949. Home: 175 South Pleasant Street, Amherst, Massachusetts.

RUSSELL LEE DEARMONT  
Lawyer, St. Louis

"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953,  
sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr.  
DEARMONT:

Born Mound City, Missouri, 2/22/91; A.B., S.E. Missouri State Teachers College, Cape Girardeau, 1911, LL.B. University of Missouri, 1914; married MARIE MARGUERITE OLIVER, 4/12/16 (died 1924); children, JULIA MARIE, MARGUERITE OLIVER, SARAH LEE. Admitted to Missouri Bar 1914, and began practice at Cape Girardeau; member of the firm of Dearmont and Russell, 1929-1932; Dearmont, Spradling and Dalton, 1933-1936; General Counsel for trustee of Missouri-Pacific Railroad Co., St. Louis, since April, 1936; Chairman of the Board, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; Chairman, Executive Committee, Missouri State Democratic Committee, 1924-1928; member, Missouri State Senate, 1929-1932; member, Board of Trustees, Westminster College; (President Board 1939-1941) Lindenwood College; member, American Missouri State and St. Louis Bar Associations; Phi Delta Phi, Phi Delta Theta; Mason (K.T.). Clubs: St. Louis Country, Racquet, Noonday (St. Louis). Home: 4954 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri. Office: 705 Olive Street, St. Louis, Missouri.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

RICHARD JAMES FINNEGAN  
Consulting Editor,  
"Chicago Sun-Times"

"Who's Who in America," Volume 27, 1952-1953,  
sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr.  
FINNEGAN:

*FINNEGAN*  
Born Chicago, Illinois, 9/5/84; LL.B., Chicago  
Law School, 1907; married LUCILLE ADAMS, 7/6/07; Children,  
LUCILLE (Mrs. WILLARD J. LOARIE), RUTH JOAN (Mrs. CHARLES R.  
CORCORAN), RICHARD ADAMS. Reporter, "Chicago Chronicle", 1901;  
"Chicago InterOcean", 1903-1904; became connected with "Chicago  
Daily Journal", 1904, City Editor, 1914-1915, Managing Editor,  
1916-1925, Co-editor, 1925-1928; Editor, "Chicago Times", 1929-  
1944; Editor and publisher, 1944-1947; Editor and Vice  
President, "Chicago Sun-Times", 1947-1950, Consulting Editor  
since 1950; President City News Bureau, 1939-1951; Director,  
Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, Chicago Heart Association,  
Chicago Council on Community Nursing; President, La Rabida  
Jackson Park Sanitarium (for care of children with rheumatic  
fever). Home: 7462 Sheridan Road, Chicago. Office: 211 Wacker  
Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

Poor's Register for Directors and Executives,  
1953 edition, indicates that Mr. FINNEGAN is also a director  
of Field Enterprises, Inc.

ERWIN NATHANIEL GRISWOLD  
Dean, Harvard Law School

"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953,  
sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr.  
GRISWOLD:

*R.I.*  
Born East Cleveland, Ohio, 7/14/04; A.B., Oberlin  
College, 1925; A.M., 1925; LL.B., Harvard University Law School,  
1928, S.J.D., 1929; L.H.D., Tufts College, 1949, Case Institute  
of Technology, 1950; LL.D., University of British Columbia, 1949,  
Brown University, 1950. Married HARRIET ALLENA FORD, 12/30/31;  
*GRISWOLD*

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

*Griswold*  
children, HOPE ELEANOR, WILLIAM ERWIN. Admitted to Ohio Bar, 1929; Massachusetts, 1935; practiced with Griswold, Green, Palmer and Hadden, Cleveland, 1929; attorney in office of Solicitor General and Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Washington, D. C., 1929-1934; Assistant Professor of Law, Harvard University Law School, 1934-1935, Professor, 1935-1946, Dean and CHARLES STEBBINS FAIRCHILD, Professor of Law, 1946-1950. Dean and Langdell Professor of Law since 1950. Member, Alien Enemy Hearing Board for Massachusetts, 1941-1945; Consulting Expert, U. S. Treasury Department, 1942; Trustee, Oberlin College, Bradford Junior College, 1942-1949; Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association, 1942-1946; Harvard Law Review Association. Member, American Bar Association, Massachusetts Bar Association, American Law Institute, American Geographic Society, Phi Beta Kappa; Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Vice President, 1946-1948). Clubs: Harvard (Boston and NY), Cosmos (Washington), University (Chicago), Charles River Country. Author: Spendthrift Trusts, 1936; second edition, 1947; Cases on Federal Taxation, 1940, second edition, 1946; Cases on Conflictment of Laws (with others), 1941; contributor to legal periodicals and geographical reviews. General Editor: Prentice Hall Law School series. Home: 36 Kenmore Road, Belmont 78, Massachusetts. Office: Langdell Hall, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

*MI/RC* WILLIAM HENRY JOYCE, JR.  
Chairman, Joyce, Inc.,  
Pasadena, California

*Eng.*  
"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953,  
sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr.  
JOYCE:

*Joyce*  
Born Los Angeles on 3/11/00; student, University of California, 1918-1920; married FAIR JARMEL, 1938; children, ANTHONY, PETER, JILL. President, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Joyce, Inc., Pasadena, California, since 1932 (shoe manufacturers); Director, Joyce Overseas Ltd., London, England, since 1946; Assistant Administrator operations, E.C.A., Washington, since 1950; Trustee Commission for Economic



Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

Development, Occidental College, Town Hall (NYC), U. S.  
Inter-American Council. Clubs: Annandale Golf (Pasadena);  
Country; Newport Harbor Yacht; San Gabriel Country. Home:  
1440 Circle Drive, San Marino 5, California. Office: 330 South  
Fair Oaks Avenue, Pasadena 1, California.

Mr. JOYCE has been investigated by this Bureau as  
an applicant for the European Recovery Program, Bufile 124-5334.

*MV/MK* ~~MEYER~~ KESTNBAUM  
President, Hart, Schaffner & Marx  
Chicago, Illinois

*N* "Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953,  
sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr.  
KESTNBAUM:

*111* ~~KESTNBAUM~~ Born New York City 10/31/96; B.S., Harvard, 1918,  
M.B.A., 1921; LL.D., Ripon College, 1949; married GERTRUDE  
DANA, 6/2/25; children, RUTH LOUISE (Mrs. HOWARD LECHTERMAN) *nee Kestnbaum*  
ROBERT DANA; Labor and Administrative Departments, Hart, Schaffner  
and Marx, clothing manufacturers, Chicago, since 1921; Presi-  
dence since 1941; Director, C. and N. W. Railroad. Served as  
Lieutenant, 111th Infantry, A.E.F., 1918-1919. Chairman, Research  
and Policy Committee, Committee for Economic Development; Director,  
past President, Welfare Council Metropolitan Chicago; Director,  
Community Fund of Chicago; member Executive Committee, past  
President, Chicago Council Foreign Relations; member, past Presi-  
dent, Board of Governors, International House, Chicago; Trustee,  
La Rabida Sanitarium; Adviser to office Q.M. General; member,  
Chicago Symphony Orchestral Association; Harvard Alumni Associa-  
tion (V.P.). Republican, Jewish. Clubs: Tavern, Mid-day Cliff  
Dwellers, Literary, Caxton, Harvard (past President) (all of  
Chicago); Lake Shore Country (Glen Coe), Grolier (NY). Home:  
1218 Madison Park, Chicago, Illinois. Office: 36 South Franklin  
Street, Chicago, Illinois.

*Robert Dana Kestnbaum*

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

~~MORRIS ALBERT LINTON~~  
Chairman, Provident Mutual  
Life Insurance Company

"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953, sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr. LINTON:

Born Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 4/4/87; B.S., Haverford (Pa.) College, 1908 (Phi Beta Kappa); A.M., 1910; graduate study, Federal Polytechnic, Zurich, Switzerland, 1908-1909; University of Michigan, 1910; ~~ELTON~~ Miami University, 1934; married MARGARET STOKES ROBERTS, 12/8/14; children, MORRIS ALBERT, ELIZABETH. ~~Began with Provident Life and Trust Company~~ (now Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia), 1909; Vice President, 1916-1931; President since 1931; Director, Provident Trust Company, Western Savings Fund Society; member of the Board, Haverford College, American Academy, Political and Social Science, Life Insurance Association of America (Chairman), American Friends Service Committee, Moorestown Friends School, Moorestown Family Service, American College Life Underwriters; member, Advisory Council of Social Security, 1939, 1948; Chairman, Life Insurance Medical Research Fund; ex-Chairman, Institute of Life Insurance; ex-President, Actuarial Society of America; Fellow Society of Actuaries, Institute of Actuaries (London); Chairman, American Secretary Commission for International Congresses of Actuaries; member, Franklin Institute, Newcomen Society Quaker. Clubs: Midday, Haverford, (Philadelphia); Lake Placid (NY); Pine Valley Golf (NJ); American and Swiss Alpine. Home: 315 East Oak Avenue, Moorestown, New Jersey. Office: 46 Street and Market Street, Philadelphia, 39, Pennsylvania.

JOHN LORD O'BRIAN  
Attorney  
Washington, D. C.

"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953, sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr. O'BRIAN:



NY 100-112646

HIMA E. White ~~O~~ BRIAN

- 19 -

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

The 1953 issue of the "Martinsdale Hubbell Law Directory" contains essentially the same information concerning Mr. O'BRIAN as set forth in the preceeding paragraph.

The "New York Times" issue of 1/24/48, reported that Attorney General TOM CLARK, and JOHN LORD O'BRIAN, former assistant AG, expressed strongly conflicting views regarding President TRUMAN'S loyalty program during addresses both gave on 1/23/48 at the 71st annual meeting of the New York State Bar Association, at the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, 42 West 44 Street, New York City.

According to the "New York Times", Mr. CLARK stated that the loyalty program did not endanger Civil Rights and free speech. Mr. O'BRIAN emphasized that there was something sinister and insidious in a charge of disloyalty and pointed out that all might agree that determination of the fate of an individual upon secret evidence, constitutes a grave departure from the constitutional theory of the rights of an individual. Mr. O'BRIAN made the point that attempts to ameliorate the dangers of the loyalty inquiries by means of appeals or other palliative measures, would not eliminate its inherent evil, "nor can they justify this radical departure from historic policy."

The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Volume 4, June 1948, pages 166-172, contains an article entitled, "Loyalty Tests and Guilt by Association", by JOHN LORD O'BRIAN, which is a revision of the speech delivered by Mr. O'BRIAN before the NY State Bar Association in New York in January of 1948.

The following points, with respect to this article, are herein set out:

1. The Soviet Government has chosen to be unfriendly.
2. Deceitful propaganda is being waged against this country.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

3. Our first line of defense is our democratic institutions.
4. In times of stress unwarranted hysteria causes restrictions on a citizen's right within the limits of penal law to speak and teach what he believes.
5. The activity of states in setting up un-American activities committees and the President's loyalty order seem to be examples of this.
6. The present dangers of hostile foreign agents must be considered in judging existing restrictions.
7. Persons consciously advocating overthrow of our institutions should be removed and the Loyalty Board of Review should be given full support. Utmost caution should be exercised in the steps taken.
8. Guilt by association may be a dangerous doctrine as evidenced by the trend in conspiracy rather than substantive trials in the US.
9. The President's loyalty order lends support to the idea of guilt by association.
10. This does not reflect or imply criticism on the very efficient head of the FBI.
11. The interpretation of loyalty data is difficult.
12. The practical effect of finding a government employee in sympathetic association with a group designated by the Attorney General is loss of occupation, lasting disgrace, and continued impairment of the ability to earn a living.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

13. We are apparently treading too closely on the borders of freedom and conscience.
14. The determination of the faith of an individual upon secret evidence constitutes a grave departure from our constitutional theory of the right of the individual.
15. Our great task is to strengthen the faith of our own people and people in foreign lands in our standards of justice and fair play. We should resolve any doubt in favor of a greater faith in the average American.

JOHN LORD O'BRIAN, Washington, D. C. (listed as a reference for HERBERT SIMON MARKS in an application for federal employment in January, 1945) was interviewed in a confidential inquiry concerning MARKS. Mr. O'BRIAN said MARKS had been one of his assistants while with the War Production Board, but he had known him for at least ten years, and had had close contact with him for four years. Mr. O'BRIAN recommended MARKS highly.

HERBERT MARKS, Assistant to Undersecretary of State DEAN ACHESON, was the subject of an inquiry by the Civil Service Commission. Information in their confidential files indicated that the Louisville Office of the FBI obtained data on 10/18/40 that "HERBERT MARKS employed by TVA, was a member of the CP at that time."

A check by the CSC investigators disclosed this information did not emanate from the Louisville Office.

In 1942, MARKS was questioned by the CSC and he denied CP membership. He said he was a member of the National Lawyers Guild, American Federation of Government Employees, American Association of Political Science, and the Masons.

The matter was later closed by the Loyalty Board of the CSC in 1945 on the basis that there had been no clarification of the source of the original charge of MARKS' CP membership.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

The report of SA LAMBERT G. ZANDER, 7/17/46, at Washington, D. C., captioned, "NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER, was.; ESPIONAGE - R", states that a file review concerning names of persons listed by HERBERT SIMON MARKS as references reflected the following information concerning Mr. O'BRIAN:

JOHN LORD O'BRIAN was a member of the Committee of Labor, Employment and Social Secretary of the Lawyers Guild (according to information in a Washington, D. C. report of SA T. W. DORSEY, 5/15/41.)

The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist front group by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 3/29/44, page 149.

*MY 4/11/46*  
JUBAL RICHARD PARTEN, President  
Woodley Petroleum Company  
Houston, Texas

*WASH*  
"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953, sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr. PARTEN:

*TEXAS*  
Born Madisonville, Texas 1896; student University of Texas 1913-1917; married PATSY EDWARDS PUTERbaugh, one son, JOHN RANDOLPH. Entered oil business Shreveport, Louisiana 1919; in oil drilling business and superintendent of drilling and production 1919-1924; an organizer and treasurer of Woodley Petroleum Company of Delaware, Houston, Texas, 1922, president and general manager since 1928; director Federal Reserve bank of Dallas 1944-1951, chairman of the Board since 1946; president Pan-American Sulphur Company, Dallas. Member National Petroleum Council since 1946. Director Transportation, Petroleum Administration for War, Washington, 1942-1943; industry representative on Tanker Control Board, O.P.C. 1941; member Petroleum Industry War Council 1941; special consultant, Secretary of the Interior of US for organization Petroleum Industry for Defense 1950-1951. Member American

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

Delegation, Reparations Commission, Potsdam, Moscow, 1945.  
Member University of Texas Development Board since 1941;  
member Board of Regents, University of Texas 1935-1941; chair-  
man of board 1939-1941. Served as captain and major, F.A.  
US Army 1917-1919. Clubs: Houston, River Oaks Country, Ramada  
(Houston, Texas); Petroleum (Dallas, Texas). Home: 1913  
Sharp Place, Houston, Texas. Office: PO Box 1403, Houston,  
Texas.

*Mr. Elmo*  
*Mr. Roper*  
ELMO BURNS ROPER, JR.  
Marketing Consultant  
New York

"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953, sets  
forth the following essential information concerning Mr. ROPER:

Born Hebron, Nebraska, 7/31/00. Student University  
of Minnesota 1919-1920, University of Edinburgh 1920-1921;  
A.M. (Hon.), Williams College 1943; LL.D. (Hon.) University of  
Louisville, Ky., 1947; married DOROTHY C. SHAW, 6/15/22; *Roper*  
children, BURNS W., JAMES J., (deceased). Marketing Consultant  
since 1933; director Spiegel, Inc., Traub Manufacturing Company,  
International Public Opinion Research, Incorporated. One-dollar-  
a-year member advisory committee, Purchases Division OPM,  
1941-1942; deputy coordinator of information 1941-1942. Member  
of the Board, Office of Facts and Figures 1941-1942; deputy  
director, Office of Strategic Services, 1942-1945; consultant  
to US Navy and US Army Air Force 1944-1945; Research director  
Fortune Survey of Public Opinion, 1935-1950; formerly columnist  
for NY "Herald Tribune" and other newspapers; formerly assistant  
professor of journalism, Columbia University; radio commentator,  
CBS. Member State of Connecticut Inter-racial Commission.  
Member American Marketing Association, Market Research Council  
(president 1942-1943), American Economic Association, Academy  
Political Science, American Statistical Society. Clubs: Century,  
Coffee House, the Players, Pendennis. Home: West Redding,  
Connecticut. Office: 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New  
York.



Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

The files of the New York Office contain information reflecting that a highly confidential source made available to agents of this office the contents of MYRA MILLS JORDAN'S apartment at 52 West 53 Street, New York City, on 12/7/47, and that an address book in this apartment contained the name of "ELMO ROPER, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, CI 6-7164".

MYRA MILLS JORDAN was secretary of the UN Committee of Good Offices on the Indonesian question and she lived in Indonesia prior to April, 1949. She was repatriated from Indonesia as a result of pro-Communist activity and association with CP leaders.

Column 1, page 37, 2/24/45 issue of the "Peoples Voice", contained an article which reflected that ELMO ROPER would head a local and national campaign sponsored by the National Urban League of the Urban League of Greater New York, to raise \$350,000 to promote inter-racial cooperation in the US.

The New York files contain a photostatic copy of a letter dated 5/31/49 on the letterhead of the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City, requesting new members for the Union. The letter reflected that ELMO ROPER was a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

On 7/6/50, the ONI advised that the American Civil Liberties Union "fights for everybody's constitutional rights" and bars from its councils all Communists. However, in attempting to fulfil its self-appointed mission, the American Civil Liberties Union frequently aids and abets the cause of Communism by defending extreme "left wing elements" whose civil liberties it considers in danger.

GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER  
President, Hunter College  
New York, New York

"Who's Who in America", Volume 27, 1952-1953,  
sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr.  
SHUSTER:

Letter to Director, FBI

NY 100-112646

*N.Y.*  
*INC.*  
*CONF.*  
*George NAYMAN Shuster, Gen. M. Shuster*  
Born Lancaster, Wisconsin 8/27/94; A.B. University of Notre Dame, 1915; A.M. 1930; Certificat d'Aptitude, University of Poitiers, France 1919; graduate study Columbia University 1925-1926, Ph.D. from Columbia University 1940; married DORIS PARKS CUNNINGHAM 6/25/24; one son ROBERT GEORGE. Head of Department of English University of Notre Dame 1920-1924; instructor in English, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute 1924-1925; professor of English St. Joseph's College for Women 1924-1935; associate editor "Commonweal", 1925-1929 and managing editor 1929-1937; Fellow Social Science Research Council at Columbia University 1937-1939; dean and acting president, Hunter College, New York 1939-1940 and president since 1940. Oberlaender Trust Fellow in Germany 1932. Member general advisory committee, Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State 1944-1945; member Enemy Alien Board #2, New York 1942-1945. Chairman Historical Commission to German War Department 1945; adviser, American delegation, London Conference on International Education 1945; delegate UNESCO Conference, Paris, 1946. Member University of Chicago Commission on the Freedom of the Press 1944-1947. Chairman Committee on Discrimination in the Nation's Capital since 1947; chairman Board of Trustees, Institute of International Education since 1948; appointed land commissioner for Bavaria. Sergeant Intelligence Section US Army World War I. Member Calvert Association. Clubs: Century, Players. Author, co-author, translator and editor of numerous books since 1922, dealing with studies of English literature, German history and German problems and the role of the Roman Catholic Church in world affairs. Home: Stamford, Connecticut. Office: 695 Park Avenue, New York City.

The files of the New York Office contain information as follows concerning Mr. SHUSTER:

Mr. SHUSTER was an applicant in a European Recovery Program investigation, Bufile 124-3998.

ERIC L. F. ARCHDEACON, former executive of the Bankers Trust Company in Europe, a foreign service officer with the Economic Cooperation Administration in Belgium, identified with the US Foreign Policy Program, stated that Mr. SHUSTER has unwittingly been an apologist for the Junker class in Germany by his writings and that he would not recommend Mr. SHUSTER for a responsible assignment.



Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

The "Daily Worker", issue of 10/3/39, stated that Mr. SHUSTER had joined the "American Committee for Democratic and Intellectual Freedom". This organization was cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers, by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report dated 6/25/42, page 13 and report dated 3/29/44, page 87.

"Yorkville, USA", a booklet of the American Youth Congress, lists GEORGE N. SHUSTER, manager and editor of "Commonweal" as a member of the American Youth Congress advisory committee.

The American Youth Congress has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The "New York Times", dated 12/6/48, stated that GEORGE N. SHUSTER was delegated by the Workers Defense League to assemble factual data concerning "forced labor" throughout the world.

The House Un-American Activities Committee in its 1938 report, page 678, reported that "just as the CP has its defense movement, the International Labor Defense, so has the Socialist Party, the Workers Defense League".

The "Daily Worker" of 2/16/44 cited Dr. SHUSTER as having put professors at Hunter College on notice that anyone found guilty of injecting anti-war or Fascist propaganda into teaching would promptly face charges of misconduct.

The "Daily Worker" of 3/8/45 and 10/2/45 cited GERHARDT EISLER as characterizing SHUSTER as a dangerous Fascist.

The "New York Times" of 11/17/47, reported that SHUSTER opposed the outlawing of subversive groups in the city colleges.

In a pamphlet issued by the International Students Service on 2/2/42, GEORGE N. SHUSTER was listed as a member

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

of the executive committee. The pamphlet informed that the International Students Service was a contributor to the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.

According to Confidential Informant [ ] of known reliability, the Highlander Folk School was organized about 1932, operated as a Socialist school, and it was infiltrated by Communist supporters and students. On 1/9-10/43, one MAX WEISS, President of the Young Communist League, which later became known as the American Youth for Democracy, reported before a national conference of the Young Communist League and characterized the International Students Service as violently anti-Communist.

b7D

ROBERT M. W. KEMPNER, in November, 1942 reported that Mr. SHUSTER was an organizer of the United Americans of German Descent.

KEMPNER advised that German Communists in the United States unsuccessfully sought to gain key positions in this organization of which Mr. SHUSTER was an important member. According to Mr. KEMPNER, their attempts were frustrated by individuals in the organization like Mr. SHUSTER.

Records in connection with hearings concerning the application of the Peoples Radio Foundation for a radio license which occurred in 1946, indicate that SHUSTER appeared as a witness on behalf of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, Inc.

There is no indication in these records that the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, Inc. had any connection with the Peoples Radio Foundation and the position taken by SHUSTER as a witness is not known.

According to Confidential Informant [ ] of known reliability, the Peoples Radio Foundation was a project sponsored chiefly by JOSEPH R. BRODSKY, now deceased. This informant stated that BRODSKY was an active member of the CP and an attorney for the IWO. This informant advised that the Peoples Radio Foundation was designed to give the IWO a propaganda outlet.

b7D

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

Both the Communist Party and the International Workers Order are organizations which have been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The Debs Memorial Radio Foundation, Incorporated, operates radio station WEVD in New York City, and this station is controlled by the "Jewish Daily Forward", a New York City newspaper.

ELEANOR BUMSTEAD STEVENSON  
Oberlin, Ohio

There is no biographical sketch of Mrs. STEVENSON in "Who's Who in America", however, Volume 27, 1952-1953, sets forth reference to one WILLIAM EDWARDS STEVENSON as the husband of Mrs. STEVENSON. *Ohio*

According to this edition, Mr. STEVENSON married ELEANOR BUMSTEAD 1/9/26, children HELEN DAY, PRISCILLA. Mr. STEVENSON was awarded A.B. degree, Princeton, 1922; B.A. (Rhodes Scholar) Oxford University 1925, M.A. 1928; LL.D. Wooster College 1948, Colorado College 1950, D.H.L. Case Institute of Technology 1948. Admitted as Barrister At Law, Inner Temple (England) 1925; admitted to New York Bar 1927; assistant USA, SDNY 1925-1927; associated with Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardiner, and Reed 1927, and 1929-1931; partner Debevoise, Stevenson, Plimpton and Page, New York City 1931-1946, president Oberlin College since 1946. Member President's Commission on Equality and Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services; a member National Board of Directors, English-speaking Union, New York. Director of Commonwealth Fund (of New York City), member Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church. Clubs: Century (NY), Union (Cleveland), Nassau (Princeton). Member Olympic championship 1600 meter relay team, Paris 1924. Office: Oberlin, Ohio (Oberlin College). Poor's Register of Directors and Executives, 1953, lists ELEANOR BUMSTEAD STEVENSON'S husband's address as 154 Forest Drive, Oberlin, Ohio.

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

*11/4*  
*James D. Zellerbach*  
JAMES DAVID ZELLERBACH  
President, Crown Zellerbach Corp.  
San Francisco, California

"Who's Who in America," Volume 27, 1952-1953, sets forth the following essential information concerning Mr. ZELLERBACH:

*Zellerbach* *HANA FULD*  
Born San Francisco, California 1/17/92. B.S. University of California 1913. Married HANA FULD 6/29/16. Children JAMES DAVID, RICHARD CALVERT. President and director Crown Zellerbach Corporation, manufacturers of paper and paper products; chairman Board of Directors Fibreboard Products, Inc.; director Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Co., Rayonier, Inc.; chief ECA special mission to Italy 1948-1950. Director Mt. Zion Hospital of San Francisco; executive vice president and member of the Board of Governors Musical Association of San Francisco; member Board of Directors San Francisco Museum of Art; vice president International Organization of Employers 1945-1948; US employer delegate and vice chairman, governing board International Labor Organization 1945-1948; director World Affairs Council of Northern California, Far East America Council of Commerce and Industry, Sugar Bowl Corporation, Stanford Research Institute; member of the Board of Trustees of the Committee for Economic Development; member Board of Directors National Industrial Conference Board. Member Board of Governors, San Francisco Bay area Council. Director San Francisco Opera Association, San Francisco; co-chairman Italian American Marketing Council. Named University of California Alumnus of Year 1949. Religion, Jewish. Clubs: Concordia-Argonaut, San Francisco Commercial, Stock Exchange, St. Francis Yacht, Catalina Island Yacht, Bankers of America (NY). Home: 2790 Broadway, San Francisco, California. Office: 343 Sansome Street, San Francisco, California.

The files of the New York Office contain information reflecting that one JOHN G. STANLEY, P.O. Box 315, New York City, furnished in 1947, a notice of the annual meeting of the members of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., which was dated 1/7/47. This notice stated in part that "the annual meeting of the American Institute of Pacific Relations,

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

"Inc., will be held at 5 P.M., 1/18/47, at the national office 1 East 54 Street, New York City for the election of the Board of Trustees and for action upon such matters as may properly come before the said meeting."

The notice also contained a ballot for election of the Board of Trustees which listed "nominations presented by the nominating committee in accordance with the by-laws", to hold office beginning 2/18/47. Among the 11 nominees listed for the San Francisco Bay Region, was the name of JAMES D. ZELLERBACH, president, Crown Zellerbach Corporation; director California State Chamber of Commerce. The ballot instructed voters to cast votes for all 11 of these nominees.

#### Criticisms of the Fund for the Republic

The Fund for the Republic has been criticized by GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY in an article appearing in the "New York Journal-American" on 3/9/53 and by Representative JACKSON (R), California on 3/17/53 in a speech on the floor of the House.

SOKOLSKY'S article, entitled "Ford Foundation Project Criticized", indicates that the Fund for the Republic is undertaking an enterprise which requires scrutiny because it is the first time that an eleemosynary institution has entered upon a political activity. According to SOKOLSKY, the Fund for the Republic obviously intends to run an inquiry that will parallel the investigations of congressional committees. SOKOLSKY indicated that in order for a private body, making an objective study of any function of government to be respected, they need not only to publish the distinguished names of those who act as a front, but also those paid employees who do the actual work. In the case of the Fund for the Republic, SOKOLSKY indicates the names of the paid employees have not been made public and consequently, there is no opportunity of appraising the objectivity of any of the Fund's work.

SOKOLSKY contrasts the use of economic power by the Ford Foundation noting that it appropriated a 15 million dollar grant to the Fund for its purposes, while the HCUA has an

Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-112646

appropriation of 300 thousand dollars, the McCarthy Committee 200 thousand dollars, and the Jenner Committee 200 thousand dollars.

SOKOLSKY implies the sum of 15 million dollars to finance the Fund for the Republic is too large for the target sought and points out that research workers can study effectively methods employed by Congressional Committees by analyzing testimony taken before such committees, all of which is printed and readily available in public libraries. SOKOLSKY concludes his article by pointing out that PAUL HOFFMAN ought to spend an evening with J. EDGAR HOOVER, "the greatest authority on the subject of the preservation of civil rights in our country, and he (HOFFMAN) would learn a great deal without spending one cent of the 15 million dollars."

The pertinent portion of the news article dealing with Congressman JACKSON'S criticism of the Fund for the Republic is quoted as follows:

"The Ford Foundation might well devote some of its efforts to public disclosure of the substantial and vital work performed by the committee in its attempts to preserve the American system under which the Ford Company acquired the millions being spent in investigation of the US Congress and its committees."

The "New York Times", dated 3/18/53, page 22, contains an article datelined Pasadena, California, 3/17/53, which is a reply to the criticism of the Ford Foundation voiced by Mr. JACKSON, by H. ROWAN GAITHER, president of the Ford Foundation. This article partially quotes a telegram by Mr. GAITHER to Mr. JACKSON in which Mr. GAITHER states the purposes of the Fund for the Republic (previously set forth in this letter) and the fact that "no grant has ever been made by the Foundation for an investigation of Congress and its investigating committees."

In accordance with Bureau instructions, the Bureau will be kept fully informed of any additional information coming to this office's attention regarding the Fund for the Republic.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-15-92 BY 9803RDD/CAL

100-391697-4-21-52  
**CHANGED TO**  
100-418797-✓

NOV 3 - 1955

*g*



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: March 20, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-15-92 BY 9203 RDD/CASUBJECT: FORD FOUNDATION  
"FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC"

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Gearty \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

An independent organization, called "The Fund for the Republic" was established by the Ford Foundation late in 1952. Paul Hoffman is Chairman of the Board. The President of the Fund has not been designated as yet. The staff who will carry on the work of the Fund has not been recruited until the new President is designated. Following is a list of the members of the Board of Directors:

Betheul M. Webster, Counsel for the Fund  
President, Bar Association of the City of New York

James F. Brownlee, President, J. H. Whitney  
Company, New York

Huntington Cairns, Attorney, Washington, D. C.

Charles W. Cole, President, Amherst College

Russell L. Dearmont, Attorney, St. Louis, Missouri

Richard J. Finnegan, Editor, Chicago Sun-Times

Irwin N. Griswald, Dean, Harvard Law School

William H. Joyce, Jr., Pasadena, California

Meyer Kestenbaum, President, Hart, Schaffner  
and Marx, Chicago

M. Albert Linton, President, Providential Mutual  
Life Insurance Company, Philadelphia

John Lord O'Brien

LBN:MP

RECORDED - 79

APR 2 1953

MAY 5 1953

3-25-53  
Referent to [unclear]  
3-25-53  
[unclear] to [unclear]  
3-30-53  
[unclear] to [unclear]  
3-24-53  
[unclear] to [unclear]  
3-25-53  
[unclear] to [unclear]  
Jubel R. Parten, President, Woodley Petroleum  
Company, Houston, Texas

Elmo Roper

George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College

Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio

James D. Zellerbach, President, Crown-Zellerbach  
Company, San Francisco

*See what our files show much of above. N.*  
With the organization of the Board of Directors, a public  
statement was given out on February 25, at which time it was stated the  
work of the Fund of the Republic will be concentrated on:

1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom
2. Due process and equal protection of the laws
3. The protection of the rights of minorities
4. Censorship, boycotting and black listing activities  
by private groups
5. Principles of guilt by association and its application  
in the U. S. today

The first announcement of the Fund said its sphere of  
operation would include the entire field of freedom and civil rights in the  
United States; that its basic charter would be the Declaration of Independence  
and the Constitution. One of the first activities to be undertaken by the  
Fund is a study of the many difficult concepts and problems which are en-  
countered in the field of civil liberties, as there is a pressing need for a  
clear statement "in contemporary terms of the legacy of American liberty.  
We propose to restore respectability to individual freedom."

The Fund's announcement also pointed out that Communists  
and Communism influence in this country is the major factor affecting  
civil liberties today, coupled with this threat is the grave danger to civil


liberties and methods that may be used to meet the threat and that it is the purpose of the Fund to undertake research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace and its affect on our community and institutions.

The names of the members of the Board of Directors were furnished me by Ed Nellor of Fulton Lewis' office. Fulton Lewis has been making quite a study of the Fund and the set-up and while they profess not to have taken any action, it is the consensus of belief that the Board of Directors has been meeting regularly in New York and they are a lot further advanced than they admit. The headquarters is at 655 Madison Avenue.

We have, of course, picked up from time to time data regarding this project. Last night, former Special Agent Ed Kennelly told me, according to Congressman Brownson, Shep Stone is already on the payroll. Stone has been on the payroll of the New York Times and Director of Public Relations of the High Command in Germany. Brownson has a dim view of Stone as Stone was close to Joe Barnes. We had a report in 1951 that Stone was suspected of being a homosexual. This came out in the investigation of Mateo Letunich, who was dismissed by the State Department on charges of perversion.

I am attaching a memorandum I wrote setting forth a conversation with George Sokolsky on February 27th.

There is attached a summary memorandum on the Ford Foundation prepared December 5, 1952.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-15-92 BY 9803RDD/CAL

March 20, 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

This afternoon I saw Mr. Paul Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of "The Fund for the Republic," which was established by the Ford Foundation late in 1952. Mr. Hoffman was accompanied by Mr. B. M. Webster, Counsel for the Fund and a member of the firm of Webster, Sheffield and Horan of New York City.

Mr. Hoffman stated that the purpose of "The Fund for the Republic" was to make inquiry; first, as to the true facts concerning Communism and its menace to the United States, and second, to reevaluate the fundamentals of American democracy and a restatement of them along lines that would be able to properly meet any Communist dangers within the United States in such a way as not to abridge the fundamental rights of an American.

Mr. Hoffman stated that there had been some misconception as to the functions of "The Fund for the Republic" and that it had been criticized by Congressman Jackson, of California, as being for the purpose of investigating the work of Congressional Committees exposing Communism.

Mr. Hoffman stated that he would like to have the advice and counsel of the FBI so that they would not make any mistakes.

I informed Mr. Hoffman and Mr. Webster that, of course, the FBI could not associate itself with any such inquiry as they contemplated making because it was being conducted outside of official Government functions. I did state to them, however, that I thought there were a number of factors which they should guard against doing in their contemplated work.

I stated that one of the most important things was to see that whatever staff was selected was composed of individuals of impeccable character and unquestionable loyalty to the United States. I stated that certain other very worthwhile groups, as well as even some Government

100-391697-16 X  
62-99275

APR 2 - 1953

commissions, with very eminent men upon them had had their work discredited because of the employment upon their staffs of persons with subversive connections and that it was inevitable that an effort would be made by subversive individuals to obtain employment with "The Fund for the Republic" or at least to influence the operations of the staff of that Fund.

I also stated that I would suggest that the members of their Board of Directors, as well as the individual staff members, refrain from making any public statements concerning what "The Fund for the Republic" proposed to do, as any unfortunate statement made by any individual member would be, no doubt, seized upon by persons who desired to be critical of this new program.

I also suggested that they refrain from issuing status statements upon what they were doing but if they proceeded with their work to go ahead and do it and then, when completed, they could consider exactly what type of statements or findings should be announced to the public.

Upon various statements made by Mr. Hoffman, I gathered that he has been somewhat exercised about certain actions of Senator McCarthy and some of the Congressional Committees. However, he indicated that he had no bias and all that he was desirous of doing was trying to assist in getting the facts in the fields of the two aims of "The Fund for the Republic."

Mr. Hoffman stated on leaving that he would like to feel at liberty to contact me from time to time if any special problem arose and I told him he should feel at liberty to get in touch with me and if there were any matter which I could counsel on I would, but, as I had previously stated, this Bureau could not in any way become associated, either formally or informally, with the work of "The Fund for the Republic" or counsel on matters entirely outside of the primary functions of the FBI.

Respectfully,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

JEH:eff

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 6:48
DATE 3-20-53
BY Law

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FORD FOUNDATION

DATE: March 20, 1953

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-13-92 BY 9803RDD/KAL  
G.I.R.

Tolson  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Harbo  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Gearty  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
 Sizoo  
Miss Gandy

By reference of the Director's office, I talked to Paul Hoffman. Hoffman stated that he was hoping to see the Director this afternoon. I told him the Director was presently out of the office in a round of conferences; that I knew the subject matter and one thing would lead to another; that while I thought we would hear from him I just did not know what the situation would be and had my doubts whether we would see him back here today.

Hoffman stated he had talked to the Attorney General and originally the Attorney General thought that Hoffman could come in and see the Attorney General and the Director right after lunch. He pointed out he was most anxious to see the Director and thought that 15 minutes would suffice. He stated that the Ford Foundation has granted the \$15,000,000 for the Fund For The Republic, which is now in the process of organizing; that they are undertaking first to measure the extent of the menace of Communism and then they intend to see what can be done about protecting the sources and bases of our free society.

Hoffman pointed out that his friend, Don Jackson, was far from the truth in his speech on the floor; that there was no intent to in any way stop investigations or curtail actions taken against Communism; that what they want to do is "reidentify the deep sources of strength for our free society"; that they want to be certain that we maintain the right to dissent but draw a line of demarkation between dissension and disloyalty. He was most anxious to have the Director's views as early as possible, although he, of course, understands the Director cannot endorse or sponsor any such program as his.

Hoffman is having lunch with Vice President Nixon at noon and said he would be free between 2:30 and 4:30 p.m. At 4:30, he has an appointment with Secretary Humphrey. He is most anxious to see the Director as he is spending Sunday afternoon with the President, who is very deeply interested in the program of the Ford Foundation.

cc: Mr. Holloman  
cc: Mr. Ladd

LBN:hmc

RECORDED - 28

MAR 26 1953

APR 13 1953

PERS. FILE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-391697-16X1

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

March 20, 1953

In line with my conversation with the Director, I called Hoffman back and told him the Director would be glad to see him at 3:30.

In this connection, former Special Agent Ed Kennelly told me last night he had seen Ed Scheidt over the week end; that Scheidt was anxious to get a job with the Ford Foundation and had talked to the Director; that the Director had conveyed to Scheidt that he was not opposed nor did he discourage Scheidt and indicated that he might talk to Henry Ford, II.

Belthek m Webster ✓  
to be along  
m



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: March 20, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

145-92 9803200/60

A girl just called my office stating she was in Paul Hoffman's office and she was calling to advise that Mr. Bethuel M. Webster, Counsel for the Fund of the Republic, would accompany Paul Hoffman when Hoffman saw the Director this afternoon. Hoffman made no mention about Webster in his conversation with me.

cc: Mr. Holloman

LBN:MP

RECORDED-38  
 INDEXED-38

APR 1 1953

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 24, 1953

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: ~~ELEANOR BUMSTEAD STEVENSON~~  
MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
OF FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

By memorandum dated March 20, 1953, Mr. Nichols furnished the names of individuals on the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, independent agency established by the Ford Foundation. One of these persons on whom you requested a summary of information was Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson.

No investigation has been conducted concerning the captioned individual. The only identifiable reference in our files appeared in the Washington Daily News Service dated December 12, 1952, which stated that the Ford Foundation had announced the creation of an independent group to outline a program for the "elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States." Paul G. Hoffman said the new group was to be known as the Fund for the Republic which would be awarded a substantial grant to carry on its work over a period of years if the group came up with a satisfactory program. He stated it would be composed of distinguished men and women. Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson of Oberlin, Ohio, was one of these individuals. (100-391697-A)

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

cc: Mr. Nichols

RECORDED - 148

SHR:nck

INDEXED-148

100-391697-16X3

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd

DATE: March 25, 1953

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: M. ALBERT LINTON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-15-92 BY 9803RDD/CAL V

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference is made to Mr. Nichols' memorandum to the Director dated March 20, 1953, entitled "Ford Foundation 'Fund for the Republic.'" Therein was listed members of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, after which the Director noted "See what our files show on each of above." M. Albert Linton, President, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co., Philadelphia, was one of these.

Morris Albert Linton, was born Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 4, 1887. He attended Haverford College where he received an A.B. in 1908 and an A.M. in 1910. He later studied at Federal Polytechnic, Zurich, Switzerland, and at the University of Michigan. He received an LL.D. from Miami University in 1934. He became affiliated with the Provident Life and Trust Co. (presently the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co. of Philadelphia) in 1909, and has been President of that organization since 1931. He has been and is currently active in numerous insurance organizations both national and international. ("Who's Who" 1952-53)

The Bureau has conducted no investigation of Linton. However, our files reflect that a throw-a-way entitled "Act Today -- Tomorrow may be too Late" issued in February, 1947, by the "Break with Conscription Committee" urged writing letters to Congressmen opposing peace-time conscription, and listed prominent Philadelphians opposed to peace-time military training. Among those listed was M. Albert Linton. The Philadelphia office indicated that the throw-a-way was possibly a part of a rumored campaign by the Communist Party and other left-wing groups to defeat military training legislation. (100-3-1739)

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information only.

CC: Mr. Nichols

MMG:mbg

RECORDED-80  
INDEXED-80

100-391697-16 X4  
APR 1 1953

APR 15 1953

WOT  
INT  
acc

cc Mr. Nichols

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. Ladd

DATE: March 25, 1953

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: JUBAL RICHARD PARTEN

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SYNOPSIS:

Summary requested by Director. Texas-born Parten resides in Houston, Texas, and has been in the oil business since 1919. Helped organize the Woodley Petroleum Company in 1922 and has been President and General Manager since 1928. Has served as Chairman of the Board of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, President of the Pan American Sulphur Company, and Chairman of the Board of the Premier Oil Refining Company. In U. S. Army 1917 to 1919. Member of Petroleum Industry War Council and industry representative on Tanker Control Board in 1941. Director of Transportation, Petroleum Administration for War, 1942-1943. Member of the American Delegation to the Reparations Commission in Potsdam and Moscow in 1945. Special Consultant to Secretary of the Interior in organizing the Petroleum Industry for Defense in 1950-1951. In December, 1952, appointed by Ford Foundation as member of "The Fund for the Republic." Was reported in 1946 to be close personal friend of the then Attorney General Tom Clark. Parten has not been investigated by this Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/29/86 BY SP8 BTG/ldw  
 1-15-92 9803RDD/CS RECORDED-145

INDEXED-145

100-391697-16X5

ESY:dlg

DETAILS:

In a memorandum dated March 20, 1953, from Mr. Nichols to the Director concerning "The Fund for the Republic," an independent organization established by the Ford Foundation in 1952, a list of the members of the Board of Directors of this organization was set forth, which included Jubal R. Parten. The Director noted, "See what our files show on each of the above. H"

A search was made for all references in Bureau files concerning Jubal Richard Parten. This review disclosed that Parten has not been the subject of a Bureau investigation. In May, 1951, a name check by the Identification Division was made for the Civil Service Commission in connection with Mr. Parten's employment as a consultant with the Department of the Interior. No record was disclosed on Mr. Parten. (62-60527-24666)

Biographical Data:

*Summary*  
According to "Who's Who in America 1952-1953," Jubal Richard Parten was born in Madisonville, Texas, in 1896. He was a student at the University of Texas from 1913 to 1917 and served as a Captain and a Major in the field artillery, U. S. Army, from 1917 to 1919. He entered the oil business at Shreveport, Louisiana, in 1919 and until 1924, worked as a drilling and production superintendent. In 1922, he helped organize and became Treasurer of the Woodley Petroleum Company of Delaware, Houston, Texas, and has been President and General Manager of this firm since 1928.

Mr. Parten has been a member of the University of Texas Development Board since 1941 and served as a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Texas from 1935 to 1941, acting as Chairman of this board from 1939 to 1941. He was a member of the Petroleum Industry War Council and acted as industry representative on the Tanker Control Board in 1941. During 1942 and 1943, he was Director of Transportation for the Petroleum Administration for War in Washington, D. C. He served as a Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas from 1944 to 1951, holding the title of Chairman of the board beginning in 1946.

Mr. Parten was a member of the American Delegation to the Reparations Commission in Potsdam and Moscow in 1945. He has been a member of the National Petroleum Council since 1946. In 1950 and 1951, he acted as a Special Consultant to the Secretary of the Interior in organizing the Petroleum Industry for Defense. He is also listed as the President of the Pan American Sulphur Company of Dallas.

Mr. Parten's home address is listed as 1913 Sharp Place, Houston, Texas.

Information in Bureau Files:

A technical surveillance on Frank J. Prince, who acted as a Washington representative of the Cosden Petroleum Corporation of Texas, disclosed a conversation on May 6, 1943, between Prince and Raymond L. Tollett, an official of the Cosden Petroleum Corporation who was formerly associated with the Bureau, in which Prince stated that Mr. Parten in the office of the Petroleum Administration for War had told him that he had a high regard for Tollett and wanted him to come to Washington with the Petroleum Administration for War in spite of the "thing that is hanging fire in Dallas," apparently referring to a Federal indictment returned against the Cosden Petroleum Corporation and certain of its officials for allegedly pumping more than "allowable" from certain oil wells. (100-14607-223, 236, 239)

During the Cotton Valley Oil Field Agreements anti-trust investigation, Mr. Parten was interviewed by Bureau agents in Houston, Texas, in January, 1946, in his capacity as Chairman of the Board of the Premier Oil Refining Company of Texas, the complaining company. Other persons interviewed reported that Mr. Parten was a close personal friend of the then Attorney General Tom Clark. This case ended on April 24, 1950, when the Supreme Court (Justice Clark not participating) refused to overrule a decision made on September 19, 1949, by Federal Judge Ben C. Dawkins, Western District of Louisiana, dismissing the case because of the Government's refusal to produce confidential documents, including FBI reports. (60-3140)

According to a news release by the Washington City News Service on December 12, 1952, the Ford Foundation on that date announced the creation of an independent group

to outline a program for the "elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States." The new group was to be known as "The Fund for the Republic" and would study the many controversial problems concerning freedom in America. Included as a member of this group was Jubal R. Parten, President of the Woodley Petroleum Company of Houston, Texas. (100-391697-A)

VPK  
B

g



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. Ladd

DATE: March 25, 1953

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: HUNTINGTON CAIRNS

Tolson ☒  
 Ladd ☒  
 Nichols ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Clegg ☒  
 Glavin ☒  
 Harbo ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Tracy ☒  
 Laughlin ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Winterrowd ☒  
 Tele. Rm. ☒  
 Holloman ☒  
 Gandy ☒

SYNOPSIS:

Director has requested information in Bureau files concerning Huntington Cairns. Cairns born September 1, 1904, Baltimore, Maryland. Received law degree from University of Maryland, 1925, and was associated with law firm of Piper, Carey and Hall in Baltimore from 1926 to 1937. From 1934 to 1937, Cairns was Special Legal Adviser with the Treasury Department and was Assistant General Counsel at the Treasury Department from 1937 to 1943. He has been Secretary Treasurer and General Counsel, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., since 1943. Has not been subject of Bureau investigation. Reported to have attended meetings in 1935 or 1936 which were conducted by one George Goetz, now deceased, but at one time an avowed Communist and writer for "New Masses." Was associate of Finnish Minister Procope in 1944 prior to Procope's being declared persona non grata by the U. S. Government.

ACTION:

None. For your information.

G. I. R. 3

1-15-92 9803 RDD/CL

RECORDED-108

100-391697-16X6

INDEXED-108

JGL:rmc pme

51 AUG 11 1953

Landes

DETAILS:

In a memorandum to the Director dated March 20, 1953, Mr. Nichols commented on "The Fund for the Republic," an independent organization established by the Ford Foundation in 1952. A list of the members of the Board of Directors of the organization was set out, including Huntington Cairns. The Director asked, "See what our files show on each of the above. H"

*Summary*  
Huntington Cairns was born September 1, 1904, in Baltimore, Maryland. He graduated from Baltimore City College in 1922 and received a law degree from the University of Maryland in 1925. On May 29, 1930, he married Florence F. Butler. From 1926 to 1937, he was an associate in the law firm of Piper, Carey and Hall in Baltimore, Maryland, and was a partner in that firm from 1933 to 1937. From 1934 to 1937, Cairns was a Special Legal Adviser with the Treasury Department and from 1937 to 1943, he was Assistant General Counsel for the Treasury Department. Since 1943, he has been Secretary Treasurer and General Counsel for the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C. ("Who's Who in America, 1952-1953")

Cairns has not been the subject of any investigation by this Bureau. However, a review of the files discloses that during the course of another investigation in May, 1952, Mr. Benjamin Wolfson of Baltimore, Maryland, an attorney and prominent member of the American Legion, advised that Cairns had attended meetings in about 1935 or 1936, which meetings were usually conducted by or under the supervision of an individual who called himself V. F. Calverton. Wolfson stated that Calverton is now deceased but was formerly an author whose real name was George Goetz, who was at one time an avowed Communist. Goetz was reported to have denounced the Communist Party prior to his death. He is also reported to have been a writer for "New Masses."

The types of meetings which Cairns is reported to have attended or the closeness of his association with Goetz are unknown. (121-0-6126)

In May, 1944, Huntington Cairns and his wife entertained Finnish Minister Hjalmar Procope and were, in turn, entertained by Procope. (65-40289-734, 744)

Bureau files reflect that Procope was declared persona non grata by the Department of State in June, 1944, and was asked to leave the United States. (65-402489-779)

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 25, 1953

FROM : D. M. LADD

SUBJECT: DR. CHARLES W. COLE - SUMMARY  
BOARD OF DIRECTORS,  
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson ☒  
Ladd ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Belmont ☒  
Clegg ☒  
Glavin ☒  
Harbo ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Tracy ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Tele. Rm. ☒  
Nease ☒  
Gandy ☒

SYNOPSIS:

Memorandum prepared pursuant to your request for information on members of the Board of Directors, Fund for the Republic established by the Ford Foundation. No investigation conducted of Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College. He was born February 8, 1906; received A.B. degree from Amherst, 1927; A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University, 1928 and 1931, respectively. He has taught at Columbia University, Yale University and Amherst College where he became President in 1946. Cole worked with the Office of Price Administration in 1942-43. He is author of books on European history and economics. Files revealed Dr. Cole has been officially contacted for information on subjects of Bureau investigations. In 1946, during a Security investigation of Professor Colston Estey Warne, Cole stated the loyalty of Warne was unquestionable. Investigation revealed Warne is associated with Communist-front groups and identified by Budenz as a Communist. In 1947 and 1949 letters were addressed to Dr. Cole clearly pointing out the FBI did not have undercover operatives investigating Communism in New England colleges as one report had alleged, nor had you ever made the statement that Communism was rife at Amherst College as one alumnus of that school reported. The "Washington Evening Star" dated May 23, 1948, reported Herbert Hoover named Cole to a twelve-member working committee to develop plans for streamlining the national defense program. In July, 1948, Winston R. Tate, National President of Phi Kappa Psi, stated Cole was one of the Amherst officials responsible for removing restrictions on membership rules from the charter, resulting in the fraternity pledging a Negro student at Amherst. The Washington Daily News Service on December 12, 1952, announced Cole's appointment to the Fund for the Republic.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

1 - Mr. Nichols

RECORDED - 10

100-391697-16X7

INDEXED - 10

SHR:fjb

MAR 31 1953

58 APR 16 1953  
APR 13 1953  
1953

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-391697-16X7

Memo to the Director  
from D. M. Ladd

RE: DR. CHARLES W. COLE

DETAILS:

By memorandum dated March 20, 1953, Mr. Nichols furnished the names of individuals on the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, an independent agency established by the Ford Foundation. One of these persons on whom you requested a summary of information was Dr. Charles W. Cole.

No investigation has been conducted on the captioned individual who is President of Amherst College. He was born on February 8, 1906; received his A.B. degree from Amherst College in 1927; and, received his A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University in 1928 and 1931, respectively. He has been associated with the following universities: Columbia University, 1929-35; Associate Professor of Economics, Amherst College, 1935-37; visiting lecturer in economics, Yale University, 1938-39; professor of history, Columbia University, 1940-46; and President of Amherst College since 1946. Cole worked with the Office of Price Administration in 1942-43. He has written the following books: "French Mercantilist Doctrines Before Colbert," 1931; "Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism," two volumes, 1939; "French Mercantilism, 1683-1700," 1943; and "History of Europe" (with C. J. H. Hayes and M. Baldwin). ("Who's Who in America," 1952-53)

A review of the files revealed that Dr. Charles W. Cole has been officially contacted for information on subjects of Bureau investigations. In August, 1946, during a Security investigation of Professor Colston Estey Varne, Dr. Cole was interviewed and stated that he had been a long-time friend and associate of Varne, having taught in the same department, and that Varne's loyalty to the United States Government was beyond question. The investigation of Varne did not all together bear out the opinion of Dr. Cole since it was reported that Varne is a member of Communist-front groups, and was identified by Louis Budenz as a Communist. (100-3645-4,5,8)

On December 20, 1947, the Bureau addressed letters to Dr. Charles W. Cole and thirty-four other New England college officials reported to have attended a conference on October 7 and 8, at which a report was made of an alleged "confession" by a student at Wesleyan University to the effect that he was acting as an undercover operative of the FBI. The letter to Dr. Cole pointed out that the report had no basis in fact since this student

Memo to the Director  
from D. M. Ladd

RE: CHARLES W. COLE

had denied he was requested to secure information for the FBI, and also clearly pointed out the policy of the FBI was to go directly to college officials for information needed on the campus.  
(62-85343-18)

"The Evening Star" dated March 23, 1948, stated that the day before Herbert Hoover named a twelve-member working committee to develop plans for streamlining the national defense program. This committee, composed of civilians who served in the Government during the war, included Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College. (62-85205-A)

In July, 1948, Mr. Winston R. Tate, a Vice-President of the Plaza Bank of Commerce in Kansas City, Missouri, stated that he was the National President of the Phi Kappa Psi, a national social fraternity. He said it had come to his attention over the past year that considerable pressure had been put on fraternities to force them to remove any restrictive membership rules from their charters. Without specific information, Mr. Tate stated he suspected this was the result of Communist-supported influence. Mr. Tate stated as far as his own fraternity was concerned the problem had become most acute at Amherst College. The local chapter there had recently pledged a Negro student to the fraternity. This action came about because the school had promulgated a rule that no fraternity could exist on the campus which exercised restrictive clauses. Tate advised that Charles Woolsey Cole, President of Amherst, was one of the officials responsible for the policy.  
(100-356632-1)

On January 10, 1949, you addressed a letter to Dr. Cole enclosing a copy of a communication to Mr. Lewis E. Kimball of Los Angeles who had previously written you concerning an alleged statement made to him by "a friend who was a close friend of J. Edgar Hoover" to the effect that Communism was so rife at Amherst College that the FBI had put a man at the college and had found the Dean of Men was a member of the Communist Party. Both of the above-mentioned letters pointed out that you had never made the statement, and further, that you immediately ordered an investigation to ascertain the source of the statement. This investigation revealed the source of information had no recollection of attributing such a statement to you. It was further pointed out to Dr. Cole that Dean C. Scott Porter had been exceedingly helpful in connection with official investigations, and you deplored the injustices of spreading such untrue and vicious rumors concerning him.

Memo to the Director  
from D. M. Ladd

RE: DR. CHARLES W. COLE

On January 13, 1949, Dr. Cole replied by thanking you for your letter and said that he was confident there was no basis in fact for the rumors about Communists at Amherst College, but he was glad you were able so categorically to relieve the mind of Mr. Kimball, an alumnus of the college. (100-147944-2,3,4)

According to the Washington Daily News Service dated December 12, 1952, the Ford Foundation had announced the creation of an independent group to outline a program for the "elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, influence and expression in the United States." Paul G. Hoffman said the new group was to be known as the Fund for the Republic, which would be awarded a substantial grant to carry on its work over a period of years if it came up with a satisfactory program. He also stated this group would be composed of distinguished men and women. Dr. Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College, was one of these individuals. (100-391697-A)

VPK  
AB  
L

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY FROM:  
 FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
 DATE 03-02-2011  
 FBI INFORMATION ONLY

TO : THE DIRECTOR

RE: March 26, 1953

FROM : MR. D. M. LADD

Classification per OGA Letter dated: 2/14/2011(p77)

SUBJECT: JAMES DAVID ZELLERBACH

## SYNOPSIS:

Bureau files reviewed pursuant to your request concerning captioned individual who according to Mr. Nichols' memorandum of March 20, 1953, is a member of the Board of Directors, Ford Foundation. James David Zellerbach was born in San Francisco, California, on January 17, 1892. He received a B.S. degree from the University of California in 1913. Zellerbach is the President and Director of the Crown Zellerbach Company, San Francisco, California; Chairman of the Board of Directors, Fibreboard Products Inc.; Director, Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company. He served as Chief, Economic Cooperation Administration, Special Mission to Italy, 1948-1950; and Employer Delegate and Vice Chairman of the Governing Body, International Labor Organization, 1945-1948. Zellerbach has been prominent in San Francisco Civic organizations and has received wide recognition for successful handling of labor relations. Bureau conducted applicant investigation in 1948. All persons interviewed described Zellerbach favorably as to moral character, loyalty and reputation. Crown Zellerbach Corporation was fined \$10,000 in 1941, for two violations of Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Zellerbach through his company contributed \$100 a month to the California Labor School from July, 1944, to August, 1945. According to acquaintances, these contributions made without knowledge of Communist nature of the California Labor School. Zellerbach's attorney advised that contributions were made through the request of Bartley Crum, a personal friend of Zellerbach and were stopped at the suggestion of Zellerbach's attorney that the school was Communistic. Zellerbach's name appeared on an Institute of Pacific Relations contribution list in 1944, and as a member of the Board of Trustees in 1947-48. His name appeared on the Business Committee of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee in September, 1945. Reliable informant advised she knew of no activity or contribution on the part of Zellerbach to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee other than a contribution by Zellerbach's wife in December, 1944. He was reported to have been a casual social acquaintance of Louise Bransten, notorious Communist and Soviet apologist. Zellerbach's cousin, Antoinette Haber, reliably reported member of the Communist Party, 1943-1944. Investigation revealed no business or social contact on the part of Zellerbach with Haber. Zellerbach was criticized by the "Daily Worker" in January, 1949, for his stand against land reform in Italy. He was also criticized in September, 1950, that Zellerbach was a member of the CIA sponsored Committee for a

Tolson  
 Ladd  
 Nichols  
 Belmont  
 Clegg  
 Glavin  
 Harbo  
 Rosen  
 Tracy  
 Laughlin  
 Mohr  
 Winterrowd  
 Tele. Rm.  
 Holloman  
 Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE

cc - Mr. Nichols

DEC 7 1956

MAR 31 1953



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To The Director  
from Mr. D. M. Ladd

RE: JAMES DAVID ZELLERBACH

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

DETAILS:

You will recall Mr. Nichols' memorandum of March 20, 1953, wherein he set out information relative to the Ford Foundation, including the names of 16 individuals who were on the Board of Directors. Included in this list was the name of James David Zellerbach. You noted regarding this, "See what our files show on each of the above. H."

Biographical Data:

James David Zellerbach was born at San Francisco, California, on January 17, 1892. He received a B.S. degree from the University of California in 1913. Zellerbach is married and the father of two children. He has been the President and Director of the Crown Zellerbach Corporation since 1938; Chairman of the <sup>Board of Directors</sup> Fibreboard Products Inc.; Director, Welles Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company; Employer Delegate and Vice Chairman of the Governing Body, International Labor Organization, 1945-1948; Chief, Economic Cooperation Administration in Italy, 1948-1950. He has been prominent in many San Francisco Civic organizations. His handling of labor relations within his own company has been described by the National Planning Association as "a model of peaceful labor relations in the Pacific Coast Pulp and Paper Industry." He is a member of the National Association of Manufacturers and for one year served as National Vice President. He is described as connected with the liberal group of the latter organization. (Who's Who, 1952-53; Current Biography, 1948)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To The Director  
from Mr. D. M. Ladd

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: JAMES DAVID ZELLERBACH

Bureau files reflect an applicant investigation conducted in 1948, captioned "European Recovery Program." All persons interviewed during this investigation described Zellerbach favorably relative to moral character, loyalty and reputation. The following information was obtained from the review of that file:

The Criminal Docket of the Clerk of the Court, United States District Court, San Francisco, California, reflects that the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, James David Zellerbach and two of his brothers were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury at San Francisco, for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act on July 12, 1939. On July 19, 1939, Zellerbach and his brothers surrendered to the United States Marshal at San Francisco. On May 2, 1941, the Crown Zellerbach Corporation pleaded nolle-contendere and was fined \$5,000 on each of two counts in the indictment. On the same date the indictment concerning Zellerbach and his brothers was dismissed. (60-2422-38, 175)

(U) According to a reliable informant in February, 1944, he heard Dave Jenkins, head of the California Labor School, tell Louise Bransten that Bartley Crum had told him that Crum could get at least \$200 a month for the school from Harold and David Zellerbach. The informant also advised at this time that James David Zellerbach was a social acquaintance of Louise Bransten. ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~

b7D

In this regard, Philip Ehrlich, Attorney for Zellerbach advised during the applicant investigation that Zellerbach did contribute through the Zellerbach Corporation \$100 a month to the California Labor School from July, 1944, until August, 1945. According to Ehrlich, the contribution to the California Labor School was made at the request of Bartley Crum, a personal friend of Zellerbach and was made without Zellerbach knowing the Communist nature of the school. Ehrlich pointed out that Zellerbach has always handled the labor relations within his own company and felt that this contribution would be evidence of his good will toward the labor movement. He stated that the contributions to the California Labor School were stopped on his suggestion to Zellerbach that the school was a Communist one. Concerning Zellerbach's relationship with Louise Bransten,

- 3 -  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To The Director  
from Mr. D. M. Ladd.

RE: JAMES DAVID ZELLERBACH

Ehrlich advised that this was a very casual and purely social contact. [You recall that Miss Bransten has been a financial contributor to the Communist Party and has been a close associate of many high officials in Soviet Government and top functionaries of the Communist Party in the United States.  (U) ~~(S)~~

b7D

The California Labor School, San Francisco, California, was cited as a Communist organization by the Attorney General.

A highly confidential source advised in July, 1944, that the name of James David Zellerbach, Zellerbach Paper Company, appeared on a contribution list of the Institute of Pacific Relations, San Francisco, California. According to a letterhead of that organization in February, 1947, James D. Zellerbach was a candidate for election to the Board of Trustees. A letterhead of the Institute of Pacific Relations dated November 18, 1948, carried James D. Zellerbach as a member of the Board of Trustees.

According to a report on the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) issued by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in July, 1952, it is stated, among other things, that the IPR has been considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet officials as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda and military intelligence which disseminated and sought to popularize false information including information originating from Soviet and Communist sources. The report further states that a small core of officials and staff members carried the main burden of IPR activities and directed its administration and policies. Members of this small core were characterized in the report as either Communists or pro-Communists.

*proposed*  
In September, 1945, a highly confidential source advised that the names of James David and Harold Zellerbach of the Zellerbach Paper Company, San Francisco, appeared on a list of the Business Committee of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. According to a reliable informant who has knowledge  
*- Calif.*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To The Director  
from Mr. D. M. Ladd

RE: JAMES DAVID ZELLERBACH

of the activities of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee in the San Francisco area, Zellerbach has never been a member of the organization or of any committee, and to the informant's knowledge has never been a contributor to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. The informant stated that Mrs. James David Zellerbach did contribute \$50 to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee in December, 1944, and Harold L. Zellerbach, brother of the captioned individual contributed \$25 in January, 1945.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was cited as a Communist organization by the Attorney General.

Mr. Dean Witter, prominent San Francisco investment broker advised in an interview during the course of the applicant investigation that Zellerbach has been greatly interested in labor relations and in attempting to bring about better understandings between employers and employees, is in favor of the American way of life and is opposed to Communism and Fascism in any form. W. W. Crocker, President of the Crocker First National Bank, San Francisco, advised that in his opinion any contributions made by Zellerbach to the California Labor School or any other organization of an unquestionable nature were probably made before Zellerbach became aware of the true nature of those organizations. (124-524)

In addition to the above information, Bureau files reflect that the "Daily Worker," east coast Communist newspaper issue dated January 31, 1949, in an article under the byline of Joseph Starobin criticized Zellerbach, ECA Administrator, Italy, for having "turned down land reform on the ground that it will interfere with agricultural production." (61-4478-A)

(C)

b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 30, 1953

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: DR. GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER - Summary  
"The Fund for the Republic"

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SYNOPSIS:

1-15-92 9803RDD/L

Summary of information prepared on George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College and member of Board of Directors of "The Fund for the Republic," pursuant to your request as noted on Mr. Nichols memorandum dated March 20, 1953. Applicant-type investigation conducted on Shuster in 1949-50, under European Recovery Program revealed friends and associates regard him as loyal and patriotic American, hostile to Fascism and Communism and all un-American political philosophy. Shuster has been accused of being affiliated with groups and individuals having both pro-Nazi and pro-Communist leanings. General Mark Clark placed ban on Shuster's visit to Vienna while he was Expert Consultant, Historical Division, War Department, in 1945, because of pro-Nazi allegations. Ban was later lifted and Shuster refuted charges with quotes from his books on Germany. In 1935, Shuster was one of six of the seven founding directors of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, Inc., who were connected with Communist fronts. From 1937 to 1941, Shuster was member of the National Advisory Board and sponsor of American Youth Congress, cited by Attorney General as Communist. He was connected with the following Communist-infiltrated and Communist organizations: American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, 1939; International Students Service, 1942, and the National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, Arts, the White Collar Fields, 1943. In 1948, he was also connected with the Workers Defense League, a Socialist organization. Public expressions of Shuster in 1943, 1947, and on March 18, 1953, indicate his opposition to Communism. He favored outlawing the Communist Party as an aid to the maintenance of academic freedom and opposed investigation of educational institutions by Congress.

cc - Mr. Nichols

100-113127

cc - 124-3998

EFT:mkf

INDEXED

100-391697-16X9

RECORDED

30 APR 2 1953

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memo to the Director  
from D. M. Ladd

Re: DR. GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER  
"The Fund for the Republic"

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

✓

DETAILS:

By memorandum dated March 20, 1953, Mr. Nichols advised you concerning "The Fund for the Republic" established by the Ford Foundation late in 1952. You stated "See what our files show on each of above." Among those listed on the Board of Directors of this organization was George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College.

In the preparation of this memorandum only the main files and "see" references since the date of a summary prepared August 20, 1951, have been reviewed.

Shuster was born August 27, 1894, at Lancaster, Wisconsin. He was awarded A.B. and A.M. Degrees at Notre Dame University in 1915 and 1921, respectively, and received a PH.D. Degree in English and Comparative Literature from Columbia University on June 4, 1940. Shuster served as associate editor and editor of "The Commonweal," Catholic weekly published in New York City, from 1924 to 1937. He was connected with various colleges and universities as a

Memo to the Director  
from D. M. Ladd

Re: DR. GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER  
"The Fund for the Republic"

lecturer and instructor until 1939 when he was appointed Academic Dean and Acting President of Hunter College, New York City. He has served as President of Hunter College since 1940. From July 1, 1945 to September 19, 1945, Shuster was employed as an Expert Consultant, Historical Division, War Department. He was a member of a group of experts who went to Germany to interview German officers and civilian officials. In 1950, Shuster was appointed United States High Commissioner to Bavaria.

Bureau Investigation:

The Bureau conducted an applicant-type investigation of George Nauman Shuster in 1949-50, under the European Recovery Program. All of Shuster's associates and friends, who were contacted during this investigation, described him as being a brilliant and versatile scholar, fair minded, tolerant, and objective. They considered him to be of outstanding character and reputation in his professional and personal life. They recommended him as a genuinely loyal and patriotic American hostile to Fascism, Communism and all un-American political philosophy.

Benjamin Mandel, research director for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, advised in 1949, that he had had no personal contact with Shuster but had read some of his work and "did not consider him pro-Communist or pro-Nazi."

Pro-Nazi Allegations:

The files of the Historical Division, War Department, contain numerous protests concerning Shuster's appointment to the Historical Division. On August 2, 1945, Senator J. E. Murray wrote to Joseph C. Grew, then Under Secretary of State, and enclosed letters written by the Society for Prevention of World War III which it requested be sent to General Mark Clark and various members of Doctor Shuster's Committee which was at that time in Germany.



Memo to the Director  
From D. M. Ladd

Re: DR. GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER  
"The Fund for the Republic"

One of these letters dated July 13, 1945, written by Lyle Evans Mahan, Vice President of the Society for the Prevention of World War III, 515 Madison Avenue, New York City, protested the appointment of Shuster to the Historical Division on the following grounds:

Shuster had written a book with Arnold Bergstraesser who was a member with General Haushofer, Rudolph S. Hess and others in the German Society for Policies and War Science, a brain trust appendix of the German general staff.

In a speech made May 11, 1933, before the freshman and sophomore class of the Bronx Annex of Hunter College, Doctor Shuster had said, "Hitler indeed is not inhuman. He has a sensitive heart and will do no harm to anybody." According to Shuster, "It is a blessing for Germany that Hitler runs the government."

Mahan quoted from Shuster's books showing what Mahan alleged to be pro-Hitler sentiments.

In 1945, the Historical Division reviewed the allegations set forth by Mahan. Mahan's allegations resulted in General Mark Clark's placing a ban on Shuster's proposed visit to Vienna (the ban was subsequently lifted) to attend a conference of his group.

When these accusations were made known to Doctor Shuster, he directed a letter to Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War, dated August 27, 1945, in which he protested vehemently about these allegations. To illustrate his anti-Nazi views Shuster cited that his book "The Germans" published in 1931 and 1934, and subsequently translated into German, had been "suppressed by the Nazi Regime."

According to Shuster, "the second book, 'Strong Man Rules,' earned for me so much Nazi approval, that the book and author were placed on the black list. It was impossible for me thereafter to get a visa to Nazi Germany." Shuster continued

Memo to the Director  
From D. M. Ladd

Re: DR. GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER  
"The Fund for the Republic"

in this letter by stating, "During the past year, I spoke on the future of Germany and insisted that rebuilding that sorry country could be undertaken only if one built on a foundation of the Christian Church and upon the free trade unions. This speech was violently attacked by the Moscow radio."

The files of the Historical Division also contained a memorandum, author unknown, dated August 22, 1945, in which it was alleged that Doctor Shuster was affiliated with several organizations and causes supported by individuals suspected of Communist leanings. However, it was the opinion of the author that the evidence fell short of establishing him as a Communist Party sympathizer but was sufficient to discredit any pro-German allegations.

In August, 1950, the appointment of Doctor Shuster as United States High Commissioner for Bavaria was greeted with bitter denunciation in the Communist press and the Soviet radios labeled him pro-Nazi. (100-113127-6; New York "Post and Home News," 8-15-50)

Communist Front Activities:

Shuster was one of the founding directors of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, Inc. This organization is the subject of a pending Internal Security - GE investigation instituted in September, 1952. Information reflects that the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, Inc., was founded in 1935, and that six of the seven founding directors have been connected in the past with Communist front groups. The organization is reported to be nonexistent at the present time. The New York Office was not granted permission to interview Shuster in regard to this organization because he is considered a controversial figure who has been alleged at various times to be pro-Nazi and pro-Communist. (Louis Operndorf, Editor, "Staats-Zeitung," NYC; 100-13532-7)

① Shuster was a member of the National Advisory Board of the Fourth American Youth Congress, Milwaukee, on July 4, 1937. He was also a sponsor of the American Youth Congress,

Memo to the Director  
From D. M. Ladd

Re: DR. GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER  
"The Fund for the Republic"

New York City, July 1 to July 5, 1939. Shuster was listed by the American Youth Congress in its booklet entitled "Youngville, U.S.A.," published in 1941, as being a member of its Advisory Committee. (Trash, HCUA Hearings; 100-113127-6, p. 4; 100-13532-7, page 8)

The American Youth Congress has been cited by the Attorney General as Communist.

(2) In October, 1939, Shuster joined with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, in a protest against a report of the Chamber of Commerce, Special Committee on Economy and Efficiency in Education, for the reason that "It contains proposals which interfered with the very essence of American democracy," and which "seriously impair our intellectual and spiritual life." ("Daily Worker," 10-3-39; 100-47852-17)

The House Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers.

(3) The January 17, 1942, issue of the "New York Times" carried a letter to the editor from the Committee of the International Students Service in which attacks upon the integrity and loyalty of Joseph P. Lash, General Secretary of that committee, was characterized as unfair, unjust, and detrimental not only to Lash but to the International Students Service as well. Shuster, a member of that committee, was a signer of this letter. Lash was denied governmental employment by MID, Washington, D. C., because of former connection with several Communist front organizations. The Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) reported that Lash was sympathetic to the Communist Party until late 1939 when he severed his relations. (124-3998-23)

(4) Shuster was listed as a sponsor of the National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields, held in New York City, in May, August and September, 1943. (Program of conference; 100-113127-6)

In Part 4, of the Special Index to Volume 17, of the Hearings of the Special House Committee on Un-American Activities entitled, "Communist Front Organizations with special reference

Memo. to the Director  
From D. M. Ladd

Re: DR. GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER  
"The Fund for the Republic"

to the National Citizens Political Action Committee," the following statement appeared concerning the National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields: "The program and the committee were stacked with well known Communists and fellow travelers."

The files of the Security Division of the State Department reflected that an investigation was conducted concerning Doctor Shuster in regard to the position of advisor to the Second General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organizations. A memorandum (author unknown) reflected that in September, 1946, it was the author's opinion that Doctor Shuster had a "minor record of affiliation with organizations regarded as being Communist fronts." However, he commented "Doctor Shuster is a known anti-Communist, a Catholic, and is at present the target of continued Communist attacks."

It was also reflected in this memorandum that although there were indications that Shuster possessed pro-Nazi and pro-Communist sympathies, these indications, according to the author, were not believed to be sufficient evidence to justify an adverse recommendation. (100-113127)

Miscellaneous:

Shuster was delegated in December, 1948, by the Workers Defense League to assemble factual data concerning "forced labor" throughout the world. ("New York Times," December 6, 1948; 124-3998-22, page 30)

The House Un-American Committee, in its 1938 report reported that "just as the Communist Party has its defense movement, the International Labor Defense, so has the Socialist Party, the Workers Defense League. The latter organization was formed in May, 1936 by leading members of the Socialist Party... the Executive Committee of the latter is ... composed of Socialists and extreme left wingers."

Public Expressions of Shuster Regarding Communism:

In May, 1943, the New York City Board of Higher Education adopted a resolution calling for an investigation of Communist activities on the campuses to see if such radical

Memo to the Director  
from D. M. Ladd

Re: DR. GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER  
"The Fund for the Republic"

organizations as did exist were adhering strictly to the rules and bylaws of the Board and the city colleges. Doctor Shuster stated, "The resolution adopted by the Board on the subject of student organizations affiliated with the Young Communist League has the full support of the faculty at Hunter College." ("New York Times," 5-19-43; 121-3-78)

In an address given in New York City on January 30, 1947, Shuster pointed out that while Christianity was "less well organized than Communism in Europe at that time, it had the advantage of gaining the support which comes from genuine religious faith." He called upon all religions to aid in combating Communism. ("New York Times," 1-31-47; 124-3998-22, page 30)

The November 17, 1947, issue of the "New York Times" stated that Shuster opposed the outlawing of subversive groups in the city colleges. In the "New York Times" edition of November 20, 1947, it was stated that Doctor Shuster pursued a program of "Keeping the Communist above ground at Hunter College." The December 13, 1947, issue of the "New York Journal American" stated that the opposition of Doctor Shuster of Hunter College to Communism was well known. (100-13532-7, p. 8)

Doctor Shuster spoke to the Fifth Conference on Civil Liberties held in Washington, D. C., on March 18, 1953, by the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, on the subject, "On Freedom to Teach, to Learn and to Think." For the maintenance of academic freedom he recommended:

1. A clear recognition in the Nation's law of the fact that the Communist Party is an aggregation of conspirators and their abettors, and therefore a clear and present danger, will make it possible to deal with academic members of that party on the basis of well defined principle, rather than of popular sentiment or of legal expediency.

2. The aberrations of "Communist Popular Front" days should be forgotten, in the confident assumption that by doing so we shall win time for more important tasks as well as for the reconciliation of Americans.

Memo to the Director

RE: DR. GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER  
"The Fund for the Republic"

In regard to Senator McCarthy, Shuster stated "I believe that Senator McCarthy is, as a public servant, entitled to do anything he can to expose what he assumes to be subversive influences....I fancy that the day on which the Senator is summoned before the bar of American history and social science will be not the least revealing of his career." ("Washington Post," March 22, 1953.)

g  
of  
PK  
B

AB  
Z

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE: March 25, 1953

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: JOHN LORD O'BRIAN

Tolson  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Harbo  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Laughlin  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Rm.  
Holloman  
Gandy

Reference is made to Mr. Nichols' memorandum to the Director dated March 20, 1953, entitled "Ford Foundation Fund for the Republic." This memorandum listed the names of the members of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic. O'Brian was one of the individuals mentioned therein. On this memorandum the Director noted "See what our files show on each of above. H." No investigation has been conducted by the Bureau on John Lord O'Brian.

O'Brian, an attorney, was born October 14, 1874, at Buffalo, New York. He received an A.B. degree from Harvard in 1896, an LL.B. degree from the University of Buffalo in 1898 and LL.D. degrees from six other universities. He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1898 and has been a practicing attorney ever since. He is a member of the Washington, D.C., law firm of Covington, Burling, Rublee, O'Brian and Shorb (Dean Acheson was formerly a member of this firm). He was United States Attorney for the Western District of New York, 1909-1914; head of the War Emergency Division, Department of Justice, 1917-1919; and Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, 1929-1933. He held other government positions during World War II. He resides at 2101 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., and has his office at 701 Union Trust Building, both Washington, D. C. ("Who's Who in America," 1952-53)

Beginning in 1939, there has been spasmodic favorable correspondence between the Bureau and O'Brian (94-4-2757). In 1941, the Louisville Office of this Bureau advised that one Herbert Marks was a member of the Communist Party. In 1945, Marks applied to the Civil Service Commission for a position with the United States Government. He listed O'Brian as a reference. No further information is available on this matter (65-56402-766). In 1942 and 1943, while acting as a General Counsel of the War Production Board, O'Brian acted as an informant for the Bureau in an internal security investigation (65-4389-24, 28). In August, 1948, Martin Popper and his associates attempted to enlist the aid of prominent attorneys on behalf of Communist Party leaders who were then under indictment in New York City. O'Brian was one of the attorneys that Popper attempted to locate but determined that O'Brian at that time, was on vacation and accordingly took no further action toward securing his services (105-1913-93).

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

cc: Mr. Nichols

Not found to  
be so according  
to Louisville file.

RECORDED-71  
INDEXED-77

MAR 24 1953  
MAR 24 1953

A.B.Z. F54

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

16X10



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-13-92 BY 9803 RDD/col  
334.999

100-3916 97-17, 18, ✓, 19  
**CHANGED TO**

100-418797-16, 16, ✓, 17, 18,

NOV 3 - 1955

*J. J.*

*[Signature]*

Mr. Nichols

February 21,  
1956

M. A. Jones

145.92 9903RDP/CL  
334.999

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
FEBRUARY 21, 1956

Mr. Lewis devoted a portion of his program tonight to a discussion of a verbal release by Senator Thomas C. Hennings (D.-Missouri) speaking on behalf of his Subcommittee to Investigate Constitutional Rights. Mr. Lewis noted that Mr. Hennings' committee had the backing of the Fund for the Republic, and he stated that Hennings' comments were strictly according to the "party line" of the Fund. Senator Hennings told the committee that the greatest danger of erosion of the First Amendment was to be found in the various Government loyalty and security programs. He then went on to mention further the evils of these programs and the use of faceless informers.

Mr. Lewis commented on this that "the odd part of all this is that there are fields of civil liberties which are very important and very real." He said the most important questions of civil liberties do not lie in the intelligentia level, as exemplified by Hutchins and his cohorts, but rather in the police court level where numerous individuals, particularly in some parts of this country, are subjected to indifference of their rights because of the color of their skin or the lack of their education. Mr. Lewis gave the opinion that the reasons that this field has not been looked into by the Hennings' committee lies in the fact that the Senator is from the state of Missouri and that this is an election year which makes such a highly controversial subject rather inconvenient for him to look into.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
133 FEB 28 1956

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Fund for the Republic, File 100-391697

ROE:jh

Mr. Nichols

January 10, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., RADIO BROADCAST  
JANUARY 10, 1956

Regarding the Fund, Lewis stated that Dr. Robert M. Hutchins had been re-elected as President of the Fund for the Republic early in November, but it had been decided to keep his election a secret until now because Hutchins had been under fire for his management and the Fund Directors did not want to have to answer for him. Immediately after his re-election, Lewis explained, Hutchins held his now famous news conference which netted him considerable unfavorable publicity because of his evasiveness, and added that Hutchins at his news conference could have told reporters of his re-election if he had wanted to be frank. He said the whole business was odd behavior for a group like the Fund for the Republic and pointed out that obviously Fund officials were afraid the public would disapprove of Hutchins being renounced to his post. Continuing, Lewis described the Fund as operating in "craven secrecy" in withholding vital information from the public.

In conclusion, Lewis commented that the American public would be interested in knowing just who the Directors of the Fund for the Republic are, and he proceeded to list them. There were no additional pertinent comments.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

EPL:mbk:ack  
(6)

1-13-92 92038DD/KSL  
100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
117 JAN 13 1956

72 458  
68 JAN 16 1956